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Institute of Social and Religious Research

AMERICAN VILLAGE STUDIES
Edmund deS. Brunner, Director

VILLAGE COMMUNITIES

EDMUND DES. BRUNNER

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VILLAGE COMMUNITIES

BY

EDMUND DES. BRUNNER

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ETC.

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INTRODUCTION

This volume is the last of a series of five embodying the results of a national study of the agricultural village and its community in the United States made by the Institute of Social and Religious Research during 1923, 1924 and 1925.[1] The first part of the book summarizes the results of the entire study. The second part contains individual studies of eight of the 140 villages surveyed. Obviously, in a summary it has not been possible to give all the data for all statements made. The data will be found in the other volumes of the series, to which frequent reference will be made.

For the purposes of this study, an agricultural village was defined as an incorporated place whose population ranged from 250 to 2,500, whose location was in a strictly farming area, and whose chief function was to act as a service station to the surrounding countryside. Purely industrial villages, such as those found in the coal regions, or in cotton-mill areas, and villages in resort or suburban communities, were excluded from the investigation.

The data used in this study were gathered from two sources; from unpublished United States' census figures secured through the coöperation of the Director of the 1920 Census and Dr. Charles J. Galpin, of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, and from actual investigations of villages made by trained field workers. The villages to be surveyed were chosen only after preliminary investigation and in coöperation with state agencies, such as colleges of agriculture and boards or departments of education and agriculture.[2] The study was limited to incorporated villages, because the census data could not be obtained separately for unincorporated villages.

Many of the facts obtained are arranged and compared on a regional basis, for which purpose the country was divided into

[1] The other volumes are *A Census Analysis of American Villages, American Villagers, United Churches,* and *American Agricultural Villages.*

[2] For a full discussion of the material and methods of the study, see Appendix A in *American Agricultural Villages.*

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four regions—Middle Atlantic, South, Middle West and Far West—some of which include two or more census divisions, as is here shown:

Institute Regions	*Census Divisions*
Middle Atlantic	Middle Atlantic
South	South Atlantic East South Central West South Central
Middle West	East North Central West North Central
Far West	Mountain Pacific

Of the contribution which the study may make in the field of social research, others will judge better than those who are responsible for this work. Some considerations that bear on this point, however, may be permitted in this final summary of the results of the investigation.

1. The study was conducted in a field of social research where previous contributions were both few in number and limited in geographical extent. This investigation has been national in scope; and it is believed that the volumes in this series, taken together, furnish the beginnings for a sociology of village life.

2. The tabulation of the census material on the 177 villages from which the 140 studied on the field were selected, is a clear gain. Never before has it been possible to secure, for this type of community, tabulations of census material on age-, and sex-distributions, nativity, occupation, marital status, school attendance, and the other items now made available through the courtesy and coöperation of the Census Bureau.

3. Furthermore, so far at least as the writer knows, it has not previously been possible to combine on so large a scale, and on a national basis, census material and field data on individual rural communities. The handling and correlating of these two sets of data raised some interesting methodological problems. Some of the solutions arrived at, which are apparent from a reading of the text, especially of *American Villagers* and *American Agricultural Villages,* may possibly prove suggestive elsewhere.

4. The technique developed in dealing with the relatively simple problems of village life, such for instance as the finding of a wealth index, may perhaps permit of expansion, and then of use in the approach to more complex social organizations such as the town or city.

5. This study is a first, not by any means a final, word on the American agricultural village. It is more in the nature of a reconnaissance. In no one state has the sample of villages been large. Problems have been raised that need further investigation before any solution can be advanced. More intensive studies of local situations within states can also be made in the light of the results of this national study, especially with the funds now made available to colleges of agriculture for social studies by the Purnell bill. It is earnestly hoped that this investigation will stimulate such studies.

6. The findings of this investigation may be of value to educational and religious administrators, social organizations, government agencies and business concerns ready to found policies upon the results of research; for this investigation has at least produced some certainty where before there was conjecture; it has replaced some misconceptions by facts. Main Street has an importance beyond its size. To the city, it is the representative of rural America; to the farmer, it is the interpreter of the city. Both need it; neither fully understands it. By opening the way to a better understanding of the status and function of the village in our national life, this pioneer adventure into the field of village sociology will, we trust, make an important practical contribution.

EDMUND DESS. BRUNNER.

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PART I
SUMMARY OF THE VILLAGE STUDY

PART I: SUMMARY OF THE VILLAGE STUDY

Chapter I

VILLAGES AND VILLAGERS

The purpose of this volume is to present a brief summary of the more important findings of a study of American Agricultural Villages made by the Institute of Social and Religious Research in 1923, 1924 and 1925, and occasionally to suggest interpretations of those findings. It is hoped also that it may serve as a textbook in colleges and theological seminaries in courses for which the preceding volumes of the series would serve as collateral reading.

The need for such a survey as this was brought to the attention of the Institute many times. There was a lack of precise information about villages. The very characteristics of village population were submerged by the United States Census in the far larger group of open-country dwellers who, with the villagers, made up the census classification of "rural." Rural leaders in many fields were asking, among other things, just how important the village was in national and in rural life; whether its importance was increasing or on the wane; whether its affiliations were more largely rural or urban; how far its well-being was influenced by agricultural conditions; and whether or not the village would become the seat of rural institutions. It was the need for more information about villages that led the Institute to undertake its investigation.

The Institute's study was not the initial effort in the field. Galpin and Kolb had pointed out certain relationships existing between the village center and the contiguous rural area. Wilson, Vogt, Gillette, Douglass and others had recorded certain observations and aspects of the social and institutional life in villages.

Novelists and dramatists, for their own purposes, had analyzed village characters. But there was no national basis, founded on field research, for deductions about village life; no answer to the questions constantly being asked about villages in general.

The Institute of Social and Religious Research sought to answer these questions, and to gather and present facts about villages in all parts of the country. The results obtained were of sufficient quantity and value to warrant their publication in the four preceding volumes of this series. The initial problem was to determine the relative importance of the village. The facts assembled in this phase of the study, some of them not before available, indicate that villages occupy a key position in the structure of the nation, and especially in the structure of rural America.

NUMBER OF VILLAGES

The number of these centers is in itself impressive. In 1920, 18,381 places with a population of between 250 and 2,500 were recorded, six times as many as there are places with larger populations. Of these villages, 10,239, or 55.7 per cent., were incorporated as boroughs, villages, towns, or even as cities. In addition, there were 2,619 places with fewer than 250 inhabitants that in 1920 were incorporated.[1] A great majority of these villages, probably four-fifths, are "agricultural" in the sense that they are located in farming areas and are service stations for the farmer. It is with these agricultural villages that this study is concerned.

[1] *American Villagers*, pp. 26 ff. The number of incorporated places was obtained from the census; the number and population of unincorporated from the Rand McNally atlas of 1921. The accuracy of the Rand McNally atlas figures was tested in two ways:

1. Comparison was made with the Cram atlas for twelve important states. Cram reported about 6 per cent. more villages, and also about 6 per cent. more population, than Rand McNally.

2. In 1920 the Institute studied twenty-five representative agricultural counties selected to represent every part of the United States. The number and population of the unincorporated villages in these counties, as ascertained by the Institute field workers, was compared with the Rand McNally figures. The Institute discovered a few more communities than the atlas reported. In population, for those villages common to both, the atlas figures averaged 2.9 per cent. higher than those given by the Institute's field workers, a difference that is hardly significant. It would appear, therefore, that the Rand McNally count as to number of unincorporated villages and their population is conservative.

POPULATION

Not only does the number of villages give importance to the problem but their share in the total population of the nation is considerable. Main Street is the street of twelve million inhabitants. The aggregate population of the incorporated centers is 8,509,659, and of the unincorporated not less than 4,348,862. The total population of all types of villages, incorporated and unincorporated, agricultural, industrial and resort, is therefore 12,858,521.[2] One person in every eight in the United States is a villager. This ratio of villagers to total population is remarkably constant for all regions. It is slightly exceeded in the Middle West; and in the Far West the figure becomes one in seven.

In the next place, the villages are important because of their share of the total rural population. Almost one in four of the rural people are villagers. However, this ratio varies with the region. It is 17 per cent. in the South, but nearly 40 per cent. in the Middle Atlantic states. The Middle and Far West fall in between with 28 and 33 per cent. respectively of their rural population in villages. Thus, though the village has only a minor share of the rural population, it is a considerable minority; and

[2] This figure is more than seven millions lower than the figure of 20,047,377 given as total village population by Mr. Leon Truesdell in his book *Farm Population of the United States* (Census Monograph VIII, Government Printing Office, 1926). Mr. Truesdell obtains his estimate by subtracting the rural farm population of 31,358,640 from the total rural and calling the remainder village. United States Census sources, as well as a former study by the Institute, permit of a slightly closer analysis of this seven million difference between Mr. Truesdell's total for village population and the Institute's. In the first place, the 2,619 hamlets, that is, places of from 25 to 250 population, that in 1920 were incorporated, had in that year, according to the Census, a population of 461,890. The number of unincorporated hamlets had been previously conservatively estimated by the Institute at 31,803, and their population at 3,703,172 (Cf. *The Town and Country Church in the United States,* p. 39). These hamlets are many of them the neighborhoods frequently found within town and village trade areas. The total hamlet population, therefore, is not less than 4,165,062. This leaves approximately three million people unaccounted for. These probably live in the open country, and include the families of clergymen, tea-room and road-house proprietors, store-keepers, lumberjacks and teachers, as well as many persons who go as wage earners to towns or cities. Many of these live in cross-roads centers that have less than twenty-five inhabitants each and are too small to be listed as separate places in the atlas. The number of such centers is very large. If this estimate is correct, only 8.7 per cent. of the open-country population would be non-farm. This does not seem like an improbable ratio. Mr. Truesdell's use of the term "village" to cover all these types of communities is equivalent to using some such term as "rural: non-farm." So understood there does not seem to be the marked difference between Mr. Truesdell's estimate of the non-farm portion of the rural population and the figures of the Institute for the same group. The Institute has simply used a more limited definition of the term village. It may be pointed out in this connection that while Mr. Truesdell allows for the farm population living within cities, he curiously enough makes no allowance for the farm population living within incorporated villages. If the villages selected for this study are at all representative, an appreciable part of the farm population lives in villages. (See *A Census Analysis of American Villages.*)

if there are significant differences between the village and the remaining rural area, whether these be differences in function, attitude and aim, or simply differences in the character of population, it is important to know about them.

DISTRIBUTION OF VILLAGES

Variation in the proportion of villagers to rural population among the regions is partly to be explained by the number of villages which each region has for a given unit of area. There are thirty villages for every 1,000 square miles in the Middle Atlantic states, but only 1.6 for the same area in the Far West. The South and Middle West have about seven and ten villages respectively, the South just exceeding the national average of 6.2 villages per 1,000 square miles. These figures suggest, and correctly, that a clear-cut relation exists between density of population and number of villages. Where density is less than ten persons per square mile, only 1.5 villages are found to the 1,000 square miles; but where density is seventy or over, the number of villages increases to thirty-three for the same area.

These facts, while they explain the fluctuation in the proportion of villagers to total rural population, themselves require interpretation. Regardless of density, why, for instance, are there more villages to a given unit of area in the Middle Atlantic states than elsewhere? And why does the Middle West, especially the eastern half, stand next? The explanation is that these villages were founded in the colonial period, or in the early days of our national life. Transportation was on an oxcart basis. The community was measured by a day's team-haul on a road none too good. Under the conditions existing in those regions, it was inevitable that villages should be close together. But in the South, which was also settled early, the plantation system checked the rise of villages, because the plantation itself was largely a self-sustaining unit. It has been only with the break-up of the plantation system that villages in the South have increased in number and gained in population.

It is apparent therefore that while the relative importance of the village in the rural element is not the same in the different regions, it is everywhere considerable.

GROWTH OF VILLAGES

Again, the village is important because it is growing in numbers and also in population. In 1900 there were 7,240 incorporated villages. Of these, 950 became urban communities by 1920 through the simple process of reaching or exceeding the 2,500 population line which marks the census boundary between urban and rural.[3] Despite this loss, there were 41.4 per cent., or exactly 3,000, more incorporated villages in 1920 than in 1900, while the total number of all villages increased by nearly 6,000, from 12,707 to 18,381, a gain of 45 per cent.

Thus it is evident that the increase in incorporated villages is not caused solely by unincorporated communities becoming incorporated, since both types of villages have gained in numbers.

A study of the census facts also makes it clear that villages as a group have been gaining in population. The rate of population growth from 1900 to 1920 for villages that in 1900 were incorporated, was 51.3 per cent., as compared with a rate of 19.5 per cent. for all rural area outside incorporated villages, and of 66.4 per cent. for cities. One in eight of these villages grew into the urban class. This tendency held for all regions; but the proportion varied. In the nation as a whole, excluding New England as usual,[4] only one-tenth of all incorporated villages declined as much as 20 per cent. in population between 1900 and 1920. Nearly half gained more than 20 per cent. in population. The rest, 42.7 per cent., neither gained nor lost by as much as 20 per cent., which would have been at an average rate of 1 per cent. a year. These figures hold with minor variations through the country. The number of rapidly gaining villages was high in the Far West and the South; and was lower in the Middle West than elsewhere. It was also interesting to note that contrary to expectation small villages (i.e., those with less than 1,000 population)

[3] In addition, 190 communities formerly unincorporated and therefore rural centers when incorporated, entered the urban class because each had a population of 2,500 or more. All told, excluding New England, 4,620,055 rural folk became city dwellers between 1900 and 1920, not because they emigrated but because the places in which they were living grew sufficiently to be lifted from the rural into the urban class.

[4] It will be noted that no mention has been made of New England. Only 7 per cent. of New England villages are incorporated. In New England the usual unit of local government is "the town" or township. This is one of the two reasons why this region was excluded from this study. The other lies in the fact that in classifying rural population of certain New England states, the census used a basis different from that used elsewhere. See Appendix A, *American Villagers,* and *Fourteenth Census,* Vol. I, p. 43.

furnished nearly as high a proportion of rapidly growing villages as did the total group, except in the Middle West.

If only such communities as remained villages are considered, the same trend is nevertheless apparent. In the 1900–1920 period, incorporated villages increased 29.6 per cent., while the remaining rural area gained 6.3 per cent., in population. The comparable figures for the decade 1910–1920, when the rate of increase for the United States as a whole slackened considerably, are 9.5 per cent. and 2.2 per cent. Except that the Middle Atlantic villages lost 3.6 per cent. in this latter period, as against a gain of 0.8 per cent. for non-incorporated rural areas, this average again holds for all regions. This analysis means several things:

(1) The village in the United States, taken by and large, is not declining as has often been asserted. Individual villages have declined; but the trend has been toward an increasing population except where villages are very close together, as in the Middle Atlantic states. Here, especially since the advent of the automobile and hard-surfaced road, it appears there are too many villages. Elsewhere the villages, on the whole, have gained.

(2) Despite the increased importance of the village and the increased population of so large a proportion of villages, two in five have remained virtually stationary in the last two census periods. That is, their rate of growth or of loss has averaged less than 1 per cent. a year. This rate of gain is less than would be expected from the natural increase of population. This fact is one of the indications that there is an exodus of population from the agricultural village which is not always overbalanced by the natural increase and new residents. It is new villages and the increases of that half of the villages that have gained that account for the rate of growth in the total village population.

(3) This rate of gain for the last twenty years has been more than four times the rate in the rural population outside incorporated areas. The gain has been shared in by unincorporated villages, which have not only increased in numbers, and therefore in total population, but also have lifted their average population from 474 to 534. The village population is thus becoming an increasingly important, rather than a decreasingly important, element in the total rural population. The village in the United States has survived the shock and drain of industrialism which in England produced the deserted village of Goldsmith's poem.

So far as agricultural villages are concerned, this growth has been caused largely by the presence of retired farmers; by an expansion of village trade; to a less extent by an expansion of village industry; and, in some parts of the country, by an increase in the number of operating farmers who have taken up village residence, as will be shown later.

VILLAGE GOVERNMENT

Villages are important, too, because they represent a tremendous experience in self-government. As was stated, more than 10,000 of them are incorporated. The proportion of incorporated villages varies sharply among the regions. It is highest in the Middle West, where about 77 per cent. of all villages are self-governing. In the South the figure is just a little less than 60 per cent. In the Far West and Middle Atlantic, the proportion of villages incorporated is 49.3 per cent. and 33 per cent. respectively. It appears therefore that in the regions where agriculture is the dominant industry, the villages are most likely to be incorporated. In the Far West, where county government is stronger and offers more service to the local community than elsewhere, and in the East, where many villages are resorts or industrial communities, local incorporation has not proceeded as far as elsewhere. It is particularly noticeable that the one-industry or one-company town seldom incorporates until it passes the 2,500 mark in population.

Communities as small as villages incorporate usually from what they consider to be real necessity; because they are unable to secure from township or county the services and facilities they desire. The governmental functions desired, or eventually acquired, vary; but it is clear that most villagers think of local government in terms of public improvements. Those of Alford and Lincoln described in Part II are instances. This tendency is apparent not only from a study of what village governments do, but also from the statements of villagers about the needs of their communities. More than half of the suggestions as to bettering the village received in house-to-house censuses dealt with public improvements and relied upon village government for their accomplishment. Because of the relatively small population and, compared with a township, the relatively high density, it is prob-

able that nowhere else in the United States does the work and conduct of government come so close to the life and knowledge of the average citizen as in these villages, where every voter knows every public official, and where accomplishments or deficiencies are not credited or charged to an "administration" but to Tom Jones or Harry Smith. Moreover, these tens of thousands of public officials are for the most part unsalaried, or at best, part-time employees.

This is doubtless one of the reasons why the issues that divided villagers were largely local in character, though national party names were often used in political campaigns. Individual leaders rallied the voters to them, or miniature blocs arose, such as the K. K. K., the retired farmers, or the Unity Leaguers. It is significant that in some villages party labels were frankly discarded and sometimes only a single ticket, determined at a caucus, appeared on the ballot. Alford and Jefferson, described in Part II, represent contrasting attitudes on the importance of politics.

HOW VILLAGES SERVE

The agricultural village is important also, as evidence accumulated by this study indicates, because the village necessarily shares in any final organization of rural life; a fact that may appear axiomatic to many, but which is not very generally recognized in rural America. The high proportion of country pupils in village schools, the concentration of rural churches within the incorporated village, the centering of organized social life and of many of the farmers' own economic enterprises in the village, all indicate the gradual focusing of rural life in the village. This process varies in degree and in kind from village to village. Its development in eight villages is touched on in the studies of individual villages appearing in Part II of this volume.

Finally, the village is important because it joins city and country. It is the link between the two.

Whether the countryman journeys to the city or simply deals with urban facilities for commerce, credit or transportation, it is largely through the gateway of the village that he gains contact with the city. To one-third of America the village represents the outpost of urban civilization.

Conversely, the urbanite reaches rural America through the

village. The great banks rely upon their village correspondents for information. The house that sells to a national market, unless it be a mail-order concern, rests content in its efforts to reach rural America if the village department store carries its line.

THE VILLAGERS

In view of the significance of the village, it became important to discover who the villagers were, and what were the peculiar characteristics of village population in comparison with that of the open country and that of the city. The answers to these inquiries were obtained largely from the census records by means of a special tabulation.

This tabulation showed first of all that agricultural villages are more nearly one hundred per cent. American than either the cities or the open country.

There are, however, considerable variations among the regions as to the proportion of foreign-born in the total population. In the Far West and the Middle West alike, the ratio is approximately 10 per cent. In the South the figure is 1.6 per cent., and it reaches this proportion only because of the number of foreign-born in the West South Central states. The Middle Atlantic states, with 4.4 per cent., rank third among the four regions. Foreign stock, that is, native-born children of foreign or mixed foreign and native parentage, comprise one-fourth of the population in the Middle West and nearly one-fifth in the Far West, but only one-eighth in the Middle Atlantic states. Conversely, where the proportion of foreign-born and foreign stock is low, the proportion of native-born is high, although in the South the native-born must be divided between white and colored. If only white are considered, the southern villages show a record of 96.9 per cent. native-born of native parents, which no other region can approach.

Relatively, agricultural villages in every region have a higher proportion of native-born white in the total population than have cities. The difference in favor of the village is slight in the South; but ranges from one-eighth to one-third in the other regions. Villages also exceed the open country in this regard, except in the Middle West, where the proportion of native- and foreign-born is almost equal. This is only to be expected. Im-

migrants have flocked to the cities or the mill towns and the mining centers; but when they have gone elsewhere the farm rather than the village has called them.

Furthermore, in regions where there were the greatest number of foreign-born, a great majority had come from northwestern Europe or Canada. These two categories account for 84 per cent. of foreign-born in the Middle Atlantic states, for nearly nine-tenths in the Middle West, and for two-thirds in the Far West, where Mexican and Oriental immigration plays a part. Moreover, most of the foreign-born living in villages entered this country prior to 1900. This is especially true in the Middle West, where more than 70 per cent. came in before the close of last century. This means that, for the most part, agricultural villages have no great problems of assimilation or "Americanization." The only representative of the newer immigration in many villages was the Greek restaurant-keeper.

Another important characteristic of the population of agricultural villages is the preponderance of females. For the entire group of villages there were only 94.5 males to every 100 females. This ratio falls as low as 88 in the Middle Atlantic states. It is only in the Far West that males exceed females, 105 to 100. However, here, as in all the regions, there are many more males than females in the total rural population. The national rural figure, which includes villages, is 108 males to every 100 females, the urban figure being 100.4.

There are two explanations for this. In the first place, one-seventh of the women in these villages are widows. The retired farmer does not long survive after retirement; his wife continues her routine tasks with perhaps greater enjoyment and outlives her husband. Widows of farmers also move to the village. In the second place, house-to-house censuses made in eight villages, as well as testimony received in other communities, indicate that farm girls are more apt to seek employment in the village, and village boys are more apt than their sisters to seek employment in large towns.

Another distinguishing characteristic of village populations is the high proportion of old people. This is especially noticeable in the Middle Atlantic and Middle Western states, but it holds for every region and for both sexes. Thus, in the Middle Atlantic states 11 per cent. of the males, and 12.3 per cent. of the

females, are 65 years of age or over. The urban figures for the same region are 3.5 per cent. and 4.3 per cent., respectively. The proportion of older people in the open country is even lower. In the Middle West villages, almost 10 per cent. of both sexes are in this upper age-group—double the proportion in the urban population. Even in the South, where there are relatively fewer older people in villages, the proportion of males is one-third, and of females one-fourth, above the urban figure. A similar tendency exists in the age-groups from 45 to 65 years, save that the differences are less marked, especially in the western part of the South and in the Far West; for as a rule the younger the village, the lower the proportion of older people.

On the other hand, in the period from 20 to 45 years, the city has a distinct advantage. In every region, between two-fifths and nearly one-half of both sexes fall in this grouping in the cities; but only about one-third of the villagers. Except in the South, the open-country figure also exceeds that for the village in this age-group, though not as markedly as does the city. Obviously the village does not have a proportionate share of that age-group which includes individuals in their most active, productive and virile years. Like the country, it has failed to retain this group. Indeed, were the full truth known, it is possible that the exodus of youth from the village is proportionately greater than the better-advertised parade from farm to city. The village that gains in population, or that even holds its own, does so largely because of the number of retired farmers who settle in it, a factor that tends to explain the high proportion of elderly people in the villages.

Consequently, it is not surprising that although the rural population forms only 48 per cent. of the country's total, and has more than half the children of the United States, the agricultural village has comparatively few children. Depending on the region, there are in villages from 19 to 31 more children per 100 married women between the ages of 16 and 45 years than there are in cities; but the country has from 42 to 84 more children per 100 married women than the village. The number of children to each 100 married women of these ages ranges from 107 to 122 in the cities, from 120 to 146 in the villages, and from 177 to 207 in the country, depending on the region.

The inquiry as to who villagers are, and what peculiarities

village populations have, is, therefore, answered by the discovery that agricultural villages have a more homogeneous population than either city or country; that they have a predominance of females over males, and that they have become, to some extent, the homes for old and retired farmers and their wives.

These facts have important sociological implications. The number of older people, and the preponderance of females, especially the large number of widows, make for conservatism. This may be one of the explanations for the disproportionate number of churches discovered in villages, and for the tenacity with which small groups of worshipers cling to their particular institutions. It undoubtedly largely accounts for the preponderance of females in the church-membership.[5] Furthermore, the presence of these elements in the population of a village means a group with leisure to discuss local projects and to reach agreement regarding them, a group with vested interests, living largely on rents and interest. In agricultural villages interest is more frequently derived from mortgages than from negotiable securities; and the rate is thus fixed for some years without regard to the fluctuations of the money market. Rent is frequently either wholly or partly on shares, so that the return varies with the price of the crops raised. It is difficult, therefore, for increased taxes to be passed on to the tenant in increased rent. The older people have, therefore, a peculiar economic interest in preserving the status quo in the village. In addition, there is the factor of age. These people have lived their lives. They now ask of the world, not opportunity, but peace and quiet. Hence they are out of sympathy with youth. They see no reason for expanding the school curriculum or building an up-to-date high school. They ask from the church assurance and sympathy, not service. They see no reason for booming the home town. Desired improvements cannot be "sold" to this group by the usual promotional methods. Educators and clergymen face a difficult problem of social strategy in dealing with this group. The wonder is not that this is so but that in the face of this condition villages have made as much progress as they have. How this works out in particular villages is apparent from the studies of individual villages in Part II, especially those of Alford and Jefferson.

[5] See Chapter V.

An additional factor in village conservatism, at least in the older sections of the country, is the stability of the population. In the Middle Atlantic states, 93.4 per cent. of the native-white population was found to have been born in the state of residence, according to the United States census. The comparable figure for the old South, excluding states west of the Mississippi, was 90.1 per cent. Even in the Middle West, nearly 75 per cent. came in this category. Eighty per cent. of the mothers of native whites in the Middle Atlantic and southern states were also born within the state. In the house-to-house censuses, it was found that from a fourth to nearly a half of the adult population of the eastern and southern villages so canvassed had been born in the community studied.

The analysis also developed the fact that in almost every sort of comparison that can be attempted on the basis of census data, the agricultural village population shows considerable variation from the open-country population; and there are also marked differences between the village and the city. It is true that, so far as the make-up of their population is concerned, agricultural villages in the main are more like cities than like the rural population with which they are now classed; but the significant thing about these facts and others, which the investigation gives elsewhere in greater detail, lies in the fact that differences and similarities between the village and the country or the city go first one way and then the other; and that in most instances the difference is marked. Thus, villages are less like the cities than the open country in the matter of home ownership; they are as much like the cities as like the open country in their relative number of native whites; and more like the cities in both illiteracy among the native whites and the ratio of males to females. Except for the fact that cities have relatively large numbers of men and women in the age-period twenty to forty-five, the age-distribution of village populations is, in at least three of the four regions, more like that found in the cities than that in the open country.

It becomes apparent, therefore, that the village differs so widely from both the city and the country that, in view of the importance of the village in our population, it should constitute a separate census category. Urban and farm population, villagers and all other rural dwellers, need to be segregated in all popu-

lation data if there is to be a thorough understanding of our population problems.

References

The following references are made to other books in this series for more detailed discussion of subjects treated in this chapter.

American Villagers, Chapters II, VI, Appendices B and C.

American Agricultural Villages, Chapter IX and Appendix D.

A Census Analysis of American Villages (source tables).

See also:

Truesdell, *Farm Population of the United States* (Washington; Government Printing Office, 1926, Census Monograph VIII), Chapters IV, V, VI.

Douglass, *The Little Town* (New York, Macmillan, 1919), Chapter IV.

Chapter II

VILLAGE AND COUNTRY

The Institute's study of village and country relations sought answers to such questions as these: How large a farming area and how many country people does an agricultural village serve? What service does it render to the country? How dependent is the farmer upon these services and how necessary to village social and economic life is the support of the farmer? What clashes of interest are there between village and country? How do these conflicts arise and how may they be prevented?

DEFINING THE COMMUNITY

To answer the first question it was necessary to ascertain the extent of the community, so that its area could be measured and its people counted. This was no new problem in rural sociology.[1] For the purposes of the present study, the community of the agricultural village was defined as the population of that area in which a majority of the people avail themselves of the use of a majority of the social, economic and religious services of the village. The community line enclosing the area in which these people live is not necessarily identical with the line enclosing any given service area, though it may coincide with one or more of such lines. It is rather an average of all the service lines, sometimes the modal line. The various service lines were obtained in the main by questioning villagers and checking their replies by field investigation along every road leading from the village.

AREA OF VILLAGE COMMUNITIES

It was found that the area the village served was affected by many factors. Topography was a limiting factor—lakes, rivers

[1] In the main previous definitions have been either in terms of area, such as considering the community as a "team haul" or "trade area," or they have been couched in psychological terms such as "The community is an idea. . . . It is not an act but a process."

or mountains being difficult to encompass. Poor roads leading to a village also tended to restrict its area. Proximity to a city cut village community areas to approximately one-fourth the average for the region. On the other hand, there were other factors that made for larger areas. The presence of a chain store, or of a good high school, helped, as did good roads. The possession of the county seat was the most important single factor. Five of every eight county-seat villages possessed community areas in excess of 100 square miles; less than half that proportion of the non-county-seat villages, three in ten, had areas exceeding this size. How these factors operated in particular instances is shown in several of the studies of individual villages presented in Part II of this volume.

Probably the most important causes for variations in community areas lie in regional differences—a factor closely related to crop, and to density of population. These regional variations were found to be considerable. Thus, in the Middle Atlantic states, village communities averaged less than 50 square miles, those in the South and Middle West approximated 100 square miles, while those in the Far West were very much larger except in the irrigated districts where areas were again quite small. It has already been shown that there are more villages per 1,000 square miles in the Middle Atlantic states than elsewhere; and, as might be expected, their community areas are restricted, owing to the large number of towns and cities in the region. Communities are larger in the South; because the plantation system required fewer villages. They will undoubtedly remain large because the tendency of the automobile and better roads is to enlarge community boundaries, thus checking the growth of new villages. In the non-irrigated sections of the Far West, density of population is low, farms are large, and community areas likewise are considerable, because there are not enough people to sustain a village center in a small area.

This suggests, and correctly, that crop bears some relation to the area of the village community. Wheat farms are large and mean a lower density of population. Citrus fruit allows small farms; and the irrigated farming of the Rio Grande valley produced villages more like those in California than in the South. Population density is therefore higher, and community areas smaller, in these fruit-growing districts. In the preceding chapter

it has been shown that density of population affects the distribution of all villages. Though density of population and area of community vary sevenfold among the regions, there is relatively only slight variation, 20 per cent., in the open-country population contiguous to these communities of the various types.

POPULATION OF VILLAGE COMMUNITIES

One answer to the question as to the extent of the area it is possible for an agricultural village to serve appears to be that a village will so adapt itself that it can serve between 1,000 and 4,000 country people, regardless of the area over which they are scattered.

These population limits vary according to size of village and region. Thus in the Middle Atlantic states the average country population attached to an agricultural village varied from 1,287 for small villages, those with less than 1,000 population, to 1,997 for larger villages, those with more than 1,750 inhabitants. In the Middle West, the range was from 1,032 to 2,485. The Far West figures closely resembled those of the Middle West. The southern villages served the largest number of country people, the average being 2,451 for the small, 3,031 for the medium, and 3,485 for the large villages. The presence of many Negroes with low purchasing power helps to explain the southern figures.

It is of interest to note that the population of the village is smaller than that of its contiguous rural area in every region and for every size group of village, with the exception of the larger villages of the Far West. The preponderance of country population is most marked in the South, where it ranges from nearly twice to four times the village population. It is also more marked in all regions in the case of small villages. There is least difference in population between the two parts of the community in the case of large villages.[2] In other words, while the large village serves more country people than any other kind, in proportion to its population it serves fewer. This means that the larger village has more interests of a non-agricultural variety than have small and medium-size villages. The process of urbanization has begun. This fact explains a certain relative lack of interest in,

[2] When number of households is compared, there is far less difference between village and country, indicating that country households are larger than those in the village.

or appreciation of, the problems of the country which was observed in larger villages, and it also indicates why, in the larger villages, there is greater likelihood of strained relations between farmer and villager.

This discussion makes it clear that there is a minimum country population without which a village cannot well subsist; and that there is a maximum population that it can serve, either because of one or more of the limiting factors already mentioned, or because it meets the competition of another village. This is a fact of considerable importance to social and economic institutions. It may be possible for certain village stores or agencies to push their service areas beyond those of the community; but, in the main, the figures on area and population indicate the approximate limits from which the school, the church, the social organizations, and even most economic services can draw. School districts and areas for public health nurses or other social workers must be fixed with these things in mind.

NEIGHBORHOODS

Within the community itself the neighborhoods, already alluded to, somewhat limit a few village services. In them live from one-eighth to three-tenths of the total population of the community and about one-fourth of the total country population. There are from 2.4 to 5.5 neighborhoods per village, the number varying with the region and topography of the community. The South has most neighborhoods. Districts with good roads and few mountains or valleys have fewest. Originally founded by racial or family groups, or on a convenience basis, these neighborhoods survive because they supply some few simple services to a limited population, seldom more than 200. Such services usually center in a church, a school, a store, a grange or other farm organization, sometimes in a combination of any two, or occasionally three, of these institutions. To the extent to which the neighborhood holds its people loyal to the service it offers, the similar village institutions fail to make much impression. Thus, neighborhoods sometimes stand in the way of school consolidation. The neighborhood, however, is so small, and has so few integrating factors, that it is always dependent upon the village. Furthermore, neighborhoods frequently disintegrate, espe-

cially when located on a good road, when its people are prosperous, or when the village takes aggressive steps to make its service supreme throughout its area. Neighborhoods are also important because in times of conflict between village and country they sometimes become the rallying points of country opinion. The studies of Palestine and especially Stalkton in Part II of this volume touch on this.

The discussion has shown that the agricultural village may serve either a small area or a large one, and that from 1,000 to 4,000 country people within that area are dependent upon the village, save as neighborhoods offer certain restricted services.

THE VILLAGE AS A SERVICE STATION

It is now necessary to ascertain what contribution the village makes to the community, and to inquire what services it actually renders.

In the first place, the village is the shipping point for the community. Few neighborhoods have railroad stations. Anything that the farmer does not utilize on his own farm, or sell in the village, can reach the markets of the world only by passing through the village, save for direct shipments by auto truck in areas near large cities.

In the second place, the village is the storage point for such products as are not taken immediately to market. The grain elevator, the cotton gin, the milk condensery, and similar necessities of the farmer are located in the village almost without exception. Indeed the farmers' own coöperatives are there. Three-fourths of the villages had one or more coöperatives. Specific instances of farmers' coöperatives are noted in the studies of individual villages in Part II of this volume, especially in Lincoln and Tuckerton.

In the third place, the village frequently adds to the value of the farmers' product by manufacture. Its canneries and creameries, for example, are a boon to the farmer who, but for these, would have to dump his perishable truck, fruit or dairy products on the market for whatever they would bring. Industry, as will be shown later, does not bulk heavily in the life of an agricultural village; but nearly four-fifths of what industries there are use local products exclusively. Most of these local products

come from field or forest. Two-thirds of the industries using raw material not locally produced were found in the Middle Atlantic states.

Finally, the village assembles and sells to the farmer and his family most of the goods that they need, such as clothes, hardware, dry goods and groceries; and it even furnishes such things as credit, secondary education, and the professional services of the lawyer, the doctor and the minister.

It is the blending or averaging of the lines making the areas within which these services reach a majority of the people that determines the village community.

As already indicated, the areas served by the various institutions, agencies and businesses of the village do not all coincide with the community line. Specialized services, such as furniture, or women's ready-to-wear clothes, not found in every village, naturally have large service areas. Banking and professional service areas in more than half the villages were larger than the community; in a number of cases they were much larger, especially in the case of county-seat towns. This is because such services are seldom found in small centers. Consequently some villages had no lawyers; but in villages that were county-seat towns the lawyers frequently were found to serve half, or more than half, of the county. The economic service areas of the county-seat town, for obvious reasons, tended to be larger than the community area. Thus nearly two-thirds exceed this area; one-ninth are smaller and one-fourth equal it.

On the other hand, of the 371 principal economic services offered by ninety-nine non-county-seat villages, more than 40 per cent. had areas equal to the community area, and nearly 11 per cent. were found to be smaller. The rest were larger. For all villages the greatest degree of correspondence was found in the Middle Atlantic states, where about half the services approximated the community line in the area of their service. The Middle West showed least, the proportion being one-third.

It is possible to ascertain the village trade service area, as distinct from the community area, by applying to the various trade lines the same technique used in determining the community boundary.

The results of this process show that there is less variation between the trade areas and the general community areas in the

Middle West than in any other region. The comparison by regions and by size of village can best be expressed in tabular form.

Region	*Small Villages		Medium Villages		Large Villages	
	Community Area	*Trade Area*	*Community Area*	*Trade Area*	*Community Area*	*Trade Area*
Middle Atlantic ..	37.7	40.5	46.2	84.0	80.6	207.8 †
South	63.0	112.2	106.0	242.0	127.0	246.7
Middle West	81.5	104.5	95.9	136.8	144.7	182.4
Far West	118.7	222.7	345.5	414.0	213.3	600.0

* Small villages refer to those with from 250 to 1,000 population, medium villages to those with a population of from 1,000 to 1,750, and large villages to those having a population of from 1,750 to 2,500.

† Covers only three villages.

The sharp variations in the South and in two of the groups of Far-Western villages may be explained in part by the numbers of neighborhoods found when the community areas are large. These neighborhoods afford opportunity for most of the social activities of the country dwellers, but seldom compete in trade.

The fact that some of these economic services cover larger areas than the social services, raises the interesting question as to where the country people who live outside the community boundary of the village but inside the range of its economic influence go for their social life. The answer is partly to be found in neighborhoods, most of which are located from two and a half to five miles from the village, and many of which have one or two social organizations. Sometimes, too, there are small villages that lack economic services but that do furnish some social life. This is not the whole answer, however; for only about half the neighborhoods have churches, and less than three-fourths have schools. This study has no final answer to the question raised, which is one of the problems in rural sociology needing study. It may be, however, that this area lying between the community boundary and the economic boundary constitutes the last remnant of rural isolation, a sort of social no-man's-land. It is also significant that while maximum lines of economic services, whenever obtained, frequently overlapped those of neighboring villages and towns, the boundaries of social services rarely overlapped except where community areas were small and villages close together.

The high school's service more largely than that of any other service area coincided with the community area. This was so often the case as to suggest the possibility that the high school has a considerable influence in determining the community boundary. Families that send their children to the village high school are quite likely to establish other contacts with the center. The service areas of the various non-exclusive social organizations also frequently coincided with the community area. Church parish areas were, however, almost always smaller than the community, except in the case of Catholic churches.

For all types of agencies and businesses, the area of maximum service was seldom found greatly to exceed the area in which a majority of the people patronized any given institution or agency.

It is clear, therefore, that the agricultural village contributes in greater or less degree to every type of interest which the community has, and that without its services the farmer would be seriously inconvenienced.

DEPENDENCE ON AGRICULTURE

Is there a reciprocal situation? How largely is the village dependent upon its connection with the soil?

The answer is that except for certain restricted social organizations, and for those few industries which import their raw material, no one service agency could continue at its present level, and many of them could not survive, without the country population. This is apparent in practically all of the studies of individual villages published in Part II.

Despite the competition of urban stores and metropolitan mail-order houses, from half to three-fourths of the families in the rural sections of the community give most of their trade to the village stores. In the average village, the country supplies well over half the business of the village stores. In some villages, and especially in some businesses, such as hardware and automobiles, as much as three-fourths of the total volume of business comes from the farmers. The same thing is true with banking. Rare was the bank that did not have more than half its business with farmers. Reports of from 75 to 90 per cent. were not infrequent.

Not only does village industry largely use farm products, but

it depends upon the country more than upon the village to furnish the vitally important seasonal labor at times of peak production. This fact is the more interesting because the country furnishes only a negligible proportion of the regular employees.

The social, as well as the economic, services of the village also depend upon the support received from the country portion of the community. One-fourth of the village grade-school pupils and from two-fifths to virtually half of those attending the village high school, depending upon the region, are from the country. If it were not for the tuition received from these country pupils, or for the support of farmer taxes in a consolidated school district, many villages could not have the educational advantages they now enjoy.

What is true of the school is true, in only a slightly less degree, of the church and the social organizations. Nearly a third (31.6 per cent.) of the total membership of village churches was found to reside in the country. Few indeed were the villagers belonging to country churches. Two-fifths of all open-country church-members were united, not with their own, but with village churches. Even in the South, this ratio was three-tenths; while in the Far West it reached two-thirds. Here lies one explanation for the decline of the open-country church.

A similar result is obtained when social organizations are considered. Varying with the region, from nearly one-third to nearly two-fifths of the members of village lodges were country dwellers. Even in the newer non-lodge type of social organization many of which, such as sewing, card and literary clubs, were small and exclusive village groups, country membership ranged from one-eighth to three-tenths of the total.[3]

The service of the village as a domicile for retired farmers has already been mentioned. In a few communities the farmer has begun to live in the village and commute by automobile to his farm. This is by no means a general tendency, but its extent is none the less significant. Only one in seven of the males in these villages is engaged in agriculture, but in the Far West region the proportion is one in four. It was noticeable also that in some villages this figure went much higher. In one out of every three villages surveyed in Washington, Oregon and Cali-

[3] For detailed information on these points, see chapters on school, church and social organizations, in *American Agricultural Villages*.

fornia, at least as many males were engaged in agriculture as in any other occupation. The proportion of agriculturists to the total males employed in these villages ranged from 25.2 to 41.6 per cent.

In only nine other villages among those surveyed in the three other regions, was the same condition found. It obtained where farms were small and roads were good; and this raises the interesting question as to whether in certain crop areas, such as fruit and truck, the village may not some day serve the farmer as his dwelling place.

It is not surprising, therefore, that when an attempt is made to measure the degree of certain relationships between village and country by the statistical device known as the Pearsonian coefficient of correlation, the results are strongly positive.[4] Thus when the bank deposits per household in the community are correlated with farm value per acre, the resulting coefficient is plus .85. Similarly, when the average household wealth of the village, measured by the assessed property valuation raised to par and divided by the number of households, is correlated with farm values, the result is the high positive coefficient of plus .75.

In a previous study, the Institute had already established the relationship between farm prosperity and gifts to village churches. A correlation between the average value per farm and the average per capita contribution to village churches, yielded a result of plus .51. When average farm income was substituted for value, the result was plus .40.[5]

THE BOOM AND THE DEPRESSION

If one needed any further evidence of the influence of agriculture upon village prosperity, it would be found in the events attendant upon the agricultural boom and the subsequent depression.

It will be recalled that as a result of war appeals the American farmer largely reorganized his agricultural procedure. Wheat acreage increased from a third to twice the 1910 figures, varying with the region. Competition with foreign producers was greatly

[4] See Chapter X, *American Agricultural Villages,* for an explanation of the use of this device in this study.

[5] Fry, *Diagnosing the Rural Church,* p. 75.

reduced; and the price of both farm products and farm land greatly increased, sometimes doubling and tripling in price. This induced some speculation, but money was easy to borrow and rates were low. To the average profits from farming were, therefore, added the considerable profits from land sales. Naturally all this was reflected in the farmer's standard of living. The farmers bought more clothes, more cars, more machinery; thereby bringing prosperity to the villages. They contributed generously to their churches. They and the villagers alike voted bonds for better schools, for roads and other projects.

When the farmer was putting in his crops in 1920, neither he nor the city man looked for anything but continued prosperity.[6] The abrupt drop in produce and land prices beginning in the late spring of 1920, and continuing in 1921, found the farmer wholly unprepared. In a trice, as it were, he was deprived of his high prices; the value of his investment decreased from 20 to 50 per cent.,[7] and he was left with debts contracted during the years of plenty, and with taxes for improvements based on the values of the boom period. The situation would not have been so bad if the general price level had fallen proportionately; but it did not. Farm prices for food, in 1925, were 22 per cent. above pre-war level, while wholesale prices for all commodities exceeded the pre-war figure by 57 per cent. Many farmers lost all, others remained on their farms simply because the creditors did not want to take back the land. No attempt was made in this survey to measure the extent of the disaster. Others had done that.[8] But in every community there was some sign of the depression—the higher the price of land had gone, the more farmers were insolvent.

Every village banker or business man knew that all was not well on the farm. Very few could supply precise facts for normal business periods so that an adequate comparison might be made; but one and all knew that trade had been affected. In many villages, especially in the western half of the country, times were "hard." Collections were very slow, and the stock on the shelves of village stores was not quickly renewed. Credit had been re-

[6] In April, 1920, one of the eastern financial service bureaus prophesied $5 wheat before the end of that year.

[7] Figures based on preliminary summaries of the 1925 agricultural census for counties in which many of the 140 villages were located.

[8] See especially Wallace, H. C., *The Wheat Situation, A Report to the President*, p. 103, and also his *Our Debt and Duty to the Farmer*.

stricted, some stores had failed, there were few new enterprises. A number of banks were embarrassed, and some failed.[9]

Retired farmers in villages were also affected. With higher taxes and reduced prices, the landlord's return from the crop was small indeed.[10] Many retired farmers had to seek employment; a few opened small stores; more sought day labor, occasionally at wages that underbid the workmen of the village. Some retired farmers who had sold their land found themselves forced to take it back, and to begin again under discouraging circumstances a life they thought they had left. Illustrations of some of these difficulties are to be found in the studies of particular villages in Part II, especially those of Stalkton, Lincoln and Tuckerton. It was only the fruit, cotton, and dairying communities among those studied that showed less than average dislocation because of the depression.

The effect of the depression on the attitude of the villagers seemed to be three-fold. Where the depression had not been severe, the village set itself to exist by selling the farmer the minimum requirements he must have. Economies were installed, and credit was restricted; and then things went along about as usual.

In a few such villages, and in others that had suffered more, the frequent plaint was heard, "What this town needs is a payroll." Prosperity had been sweet while it had lasted; and if the farmer could not furnish it perhaps an industry could.

Other villages, some of which had had unfortunate experiences with industries, saw in the experience as never before their unity of interest with the farmer; and in various ways they were attempting to solve the problem because it was a community concern. The wisdom of this position is borne out by the high correlations, already given, between farm land and the prosperity of the village; a fact which makes it all the more important that villagers should understand the structure of the community.

The effect of the depression also had social consequences. The teaching of agriculture, and of certain other of the newer

[9] All told, hundreds of banks failed in the agricultural areas in the years 1920–1925. One-tenth of all those in Iowa succumbed. See "Bank Failures in Iowa," *Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics*, January, 1926.

[10] Warren and Pearson, in *The Agricultural Situation*, report a survey of some Indiana counties showing that whereas taxes took 12 per cent. of rent paid in 1919, they took 47 per cent. in 1922 and 40 per cent. in 1923.

subjects, was dropped in village schools; and the services of a considerable number of public health nurses were discontinued.

The conclusion is unmistakable from this entire discussion that the agricultural village cannot exist without the farmer. More important still is the conclusion that the trend of rural organization, both economic and social, is definitely villageward. The open country is delegating more and more functions; and many of its institutions are being superseded, slowly but surely, by those of the village. The exceptions to this generalization, while they exist, are minor; and though the trend is not everywhere recognized, nor everywhere of the same strength, it is sufficiently strong and well established to cause grave doubts as to the wisdom of investing further funds, for instance, in buildings for grammar schools or high schools or churches within the country portions of village communities.

It is believed that the data show a growth of community interest, a continuing growth, between village and country, despite the fact that the study also found differences, and even conflicts, between the two parts of the village community. Why and how do these differences arise, and how may they be prevented?

VILLAGE AND COUNTRY RELATIONS

It is inevitable that conflicts should occur between two groups whose interests are not identical. The farmer desires a high price for his produce and a low price for the necessities he must buy. The village wishes to sell to the farmer for as much as possible, but wants cheap food. Around this basic division of interest, arising out of a difference in function, most of the village-country difficulties gather. In 64 per cent. of the 140 villages studied, however, there was no trouble between the farmer and the villager. Neither was there active coöperation in community progress. In the remaining fifty-one villages, sharp conflict existed in twenty-five; and in twenty-six there was excellent coöperation. It is significant that most cases of conflict occurred where the agricultural depression was most severe; and that relations were best where the farmers were organized for coöperative marketing.

The causes of conflict were carefully studied. The most numerous group of causes may be classified as inadvertent acts on the part of villagers. Specific causes were, in the order named,

prices, school program or policy, activities of the coöperatives, and politics.

The thoughtlessness of villages usually consisted in taking some action, often considered trivial, without consulting or even considering, the farmers' opinion. Thus serious difficulties were caused by the removal of a water trough and of hitching posts, and by minor changes in rates by a coöperative telephone company.

The difficulties over prices, listed only when the situation was serious, reduced themselves in the main to simple terms. Either the village stores were unenterprising, had poor stocks and a long-time stock-turnover necessitating high prices, or the farmer himself had contributed to the high prices by his demand for long-time credit.

School difficulties were more intense, and lasted longer than others. Conflicts arose over problems of consolidation, cost of tuition, or alleged discrimination against country children. Several of these cases were carried to the courts.

When the farmer attempts to organize a coöperative that competes with some established business, the village sometimes fights back by propaganda, restriction of credit, or boycott. The last-named weapon, however, is used far more often by the farmers; and usually it is effective.

In a number of villages, the farmers were bitter because the banks had called or refused loans when the agricultural depression was at its worst, or because the stores had gone on a cash basis just at that time. The merchants often showed, however, that their credits to farmers had run into tens of thousands of dollars.

Political differences were few; but when they occurred, they were sharp. As Rice has shown in his *Farmers and Workers in American Politics,* village and country voted differently in Wisconsin and Minnesota. The villages gave relatively greater support to urban-minded candidates, the farmers to those of the Farmer-Labor party who had campaigned for agricultural relief. This was also true in North Dakota, the towns and villages frequently being opposed to the Non-Partisan League. Part of this difficulty is accounted for by the fact that the farmer often thinks that his trade center is responsible in some vague way for what

happens in the big trading centers. In most conflict situations, neither the villagers nor the countrymen have stopped to consider their dependence on each other.

Where this mutual dependence was recognized, relations between village and country were found to be good, and active coöperation existed. This coöperation was found when village and farmer worked together as equals for the community and was especially noticeable when the village had definitely given up its ambitions to be a city and had decided to be the best possible sort of service station to the farmer. Work by the village for the farmer seemed to accomplish little. Where relations were good, the farmers were found on the directorate of the Chamber of Commerce or on the school board, and members of farm organizations felt that they had a stake in village prosperity. Organizational or institutional plans were on the basis of the community, not merely on that of the village or that of the country. Among the various institutions, the high school seemed to be more successful than any other in creating and maintaining good village and country relations. The business organizations stood second and farmers' coöperatives, where well established, third. The influence of the church seemed to be negligible.

There was noticeable a growing concern on the part of village leaders over the question of village and country relations; and in this more than in anything else lies the hope of the future.

References

The following references are made to other books in this series for more detailed discussion of subjects treated in this chapter.

American Agricultural Villages, Chapters I, II, III and IV. Description of the village and country relations of particular villages in Part II of this volume. See also:

Kolb, *Service Relations of Town and Country* and *Rural Primary Groups* (Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Wisconsin, 1923 and 1921).

Sanderson, *Social Areas of Otsego County, New York* (New York College of Agriculture, 1922).

Kulp, *Country Life in South China* (New York, Teachers College Press, 1925), Chapter XII.

Warren and Pearson, *The Agricultural Situation* (New York, Wiley, 1925), Chapters I to VI inclusive.

Douglass, *The Little Town* (New York, Macmillan, 1919), Chapter III.

Chapter III

THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF VILLAGES

The discussion of the relations between the people of the villages and the people living in areas contiguous to villages shows how important it is to understand conditions within the villages themselves. In presenting the results of the phase of this study dealing with aspects of village life, an attempt will be made, at the outset, to answer such questions as: How many villagers work? What do they do? What sort of industries has the village? How does village economic life compare with urban economic life? Does the village offer an adequate economic opportunity to its young people?

It should be admitted here, however, that these agricultural villages do not form a strictly homogeneous group. The characteristics of the village, as well as those of the surrounding farm areas, are modified by the crop grown. There are, therefore, as many types of farm trade centers as there are types of farming; and each of these centers is as much an agricultural village as any other. The sample of 140 villages represents the ten most important crop areas in the United States; and includes places as unlike as a "new" Oregon community where the farm has only recently taken the place of the lumber camp, and a southern town that was founded as long ago as 1751. Despite the differences, however, these villages are alike in that they all serve the farmer and that he finds their various services indispensable. These villages are all trade centers; all are shipping points; all house, to a greater or less degree, those artisans or professional workers whose services the farmer at times employs.

EMPLOYMENT IN VILLAGES

It is pertinent to inquire how many villagers work, because the number of persons gainfully employed in any community tells much about the economic situation.

In all the regions, except the Middle West, three-fourths of the males over ten years of age were gainfully employed. In the Middle West the proportion was two-thirds. These ratios are slightly under the national average. Very interesting are the figures on employment of males in the age-group 65 years and over. In the Middle Atlantic and Far West regions, the proportion employed was about one-half. In the Middle West, it had fallen to 37.3 per cent. The figure rose to nearly two-thirds in the South; where, even considering the whites alone, 60.9 per cent. of those 65 years of age and over were employed. For the first three regions named, the figures would seem to indicate conclusively the presence of retired farmers; and especially is this true for the Middle West, particularly when the age-group 45 to 65 years is considered. Over 90 per cent. of the males in this group are employed in all regions except this one; and here the proportion is 83.5 per cent. If this indicated excess of older unemployed men in the Middle West is made up of retired farmers, as appears certain on the basis of local testimony and house-to-house censuses, the fact substantiates the statement made in the first chapter that the growth of villages is to a considerable extent caused by the incoming of retired farmers.

In the South more than twice as many males from ten to fifteen years of age (6.1 per cent.) are employed as in any other region. The South's lead over other regions in this particular is marked even when whites and Negroes are separately considered.

A possible explanation of this difference in the employment figures of the South and those of the other regions lies in the fact that the South is not as wealthy as the other regions. This conclusion is borne out by a high negative correlation, —.53, between the wealth index already mentioned and the percentage of men forty-five years of age and over gainfully employed in the sixty Middle West villages. Employment of older men tends to be less in rich villages.

Among females, gainful employment shows tendencies similar to those among males. In all villages about a fifth of the women are employed. All the regions, except the South, fall under this figure; the South exceeds it. In the 10- to 15-year-old group, the South employs more than twice as many proportionately as any other region.

The leading occupations in these villages are manufacturing,

trade, agriculture and transportation. Professional service, which ranks first among females because of school teaching, is low among males. The proportion of males gainfully employed in these leading occupational groups are: manufacture, 35.2 per cent.; trade, 20.5 per cent.; agriculture, 14.9 per cent.; and transportation, 11.8 per cent. Professional service enlists only 6.3 per cent. of the employed males. The place of manufacturing is likely to cause surprise until it is remembered that the census places carpenters, masons, well-diggers, seamstresses, milliners, and many in similar occupations under the head of "manufacturing and mechanical industries." Many of these occupations obviously fall within the group of those that are serving the farmer as no industrial establishment is likely to do.

INDUSTRIES

These communities are not, however, without their industries. The average number per village is 4.6; though if newspapers be excluded, this average falls to 3.3.

The Middle Atlantic states lead in the number of industries, averaging 6.6. The South and the Middle West have approximately four each; and the Far West 4.7. Excluding newspapers, the range in the average number of industries per village is from 2.6 in the Middle West to 5.25 in the Middle Atlantic region.

These industries not only are few in number but they seldom employ many hands: 54.7 per cent. have fewer than ten employees, and 85 per cent. have fewer than fifty. In the 140 villages, only sixty-six establishments employed fifty or more persons; and three-fifths of these were in the Middle Atlantic states. The rest were almost all in villages with populations in excess of 1,750.

The greater industrialization of the Middle Atlantic villages is largely to be explained by their proximity to the great urban centers. A number of manufacturers, particularly of shoes, hosiery and cigars, have established factories in villages to avail themselves of cheaper rents and labor.

The population of the village was the other factor that affected the number of industries per village. Only a third of the small villages had four or more industries; but two-thirds of the medium-size villages, and three-fourths of the larger ones, came

in this group. The size of the village had little effect, however, upon the proportion of the persons engaged in industry; the proportion being but slightly higher in large villages than in the others. This slight increase in the ratio of those industrially employed is another indication of the considerable size of the group that, while not employed in a factory, nevertheless came under the census classification of "manufacturing and mechanical industries."

Industries handling food products in some form were the leading type in the villages of all regions. Not only was this so, but villages in all regions had proportionately more establishments of this kind than had the United States as a whole. The percentage in the villages ranged from 29 in the South to 38 in the Far West. The average for the entire United States was about one in four. It is this type of industry also that survives best.

Many of the villages, beset by the payroll complex, had sought to secure industries, and as an inducement had subscribed large sums to the capital stock of manufacturing establishments. Too often the concerns had failed, because of poor management or insufficient capital. A surprising number of village industrial plants had been destroyed by fire and had not been rebuilt. Villages located in areas that produced crops readily convertible into easily transported products had a real advantage over wheat and livestock centers; because the greater manufacturing interest gave an added source of employment.

The possibility of their being made prosperous by industry divorced from agriculture is, therefore, doubtful for these farm trade centers, unless the industries are backed by plenty of capital. A few villages, though perhaps too few, have come to a position well described by the leader of a business men's organization who said: "This is not an industrial town. We've gone through the promotion stage and found that we were always left holding the bag. We're turning our attention to our own community now. Last year we worked on the farming development idea, boosted marketing and better seed potatoes."

Some village banks have seen the part of the farm in village prosperity more clearly than have any other agency. One encouraged dairying by bringing on good stock, selling it at cost, and taking notes in payment. Another introduced alfalfa, selling the

seed at below cost. Several had helped to organize coöperatives or farm bureaus. The recognition of the interdependence of village and country which such activities imply, has been urged for more than a decade by the banker-farmer movement of the American Bankers Association. Villages that had accepted this point of view and were seeking to develop the agriculture of their community rather than to bring in other industry, were more prosperous and progressive than any others. A good example is Lincoln, which is described in Part II.

THE VILLAGE AND THE CITY

If then industry is not destined to play a dominant part in the life of the agricultural village, what does the village offer; and how does its economic life compare with that of the city?

It is not surprising to find that in cities the proportion of males industrially employed is higher than in the villages by from about 20 to 33 per cent., depending upon the region. There are also, proportionately, several times as many clerical workers in the cities as in the villages. It was also to be expected that the villages would greatly exceed the cities in the proportion employed in agriculture.

It is surprising, on first thought, to find that in every region the village leads the city in the proportion of those in professional service. This is partly owing to the fact that the sample of villages studied was larger than the average village. Certain types of professional workers, like dentists and nurses, are rarely found in the small villages; but this is largely because of the concentration of professional workers in the village. No lawyers, and almost no physicians, were found outside the incorporated limits of the village. Many country ministers lived in villages; and even country school-teachers in considerable numbers were village residents. The members of these professions, however, serve, not the village only, but the entire community. Thus there are nearly twice as many dentists to each 1,000 population in villages as in cities; but when the comparison is made on the basis of the village community, the city far exceeds the village. The same is true with physicians and lawyers. Villages also have from two to three times as many ministers to each 1,000 population as cities. This explains the relatively high proportion of villagers in professional service.

In the realm of trade, the village exceeds the city by from 15 to 39 per cent. in the proportion of males employed, except in the Far West. This is a remarkable confirmation of the fact that these villages are trade centers. When it is recalled that just as the larger villages were the only ones that could support the more specialized stores, with the result that even the small city has many more kinds of stores than has the village, the village's lead over the city in the proportionate number of males employed in trade becomes the more significant.

The tendencies noted among the males hold in the main for the gainfully employed females; save that, except for the South, the city slightly exceeds the village in the proportion employed in trade. Except in the South, where half the employed females are found in domestic and personal services, this class of employment bulks larger in the village than in the city. Also, except in the Middle Atlantic region, it is the leading occupation for women; whereas among the men it ranks sixth among the nine categories used.

A better comparison between city and village, and a more precise appraising of economic opportunity in villages, result from comparing the social-economic status of the two groups. This comparison shows that among the employed village men of each region the relative number of proprietors, officials and managers is from 70 to nearly 100 per cent. greater than among city men. On the other hand, the proportion of laborers in villages is greatly in excess of the city ratio. Clerks and semi-skilled workers are less numerous in villages. These trends are also found among the females.

The explanation of this is to be found in the relatively simple economic structure of villages. A man can be head of a business so small that he does not require much, if any, clerical assistance. His enterprise is so small that it needs little capital; and he can secure such capital rather easily, often by tapping the resources of his family. His customers, too, are largely acquaintances. With industries so small, there is no field for the skilled or semi-skilled workman. This doubtless makes for the far greater intimacy between employer and employee in the village, as compared with the city. In the small shop or industry, employer and wage-earner work together intimately. There is relatively little dif-

ference in their economic position; their families are neighbors, and quite possibly mingle at church or lodge.

COMPETITION IN SERVICES

The high proportion of villagers engaged in trade, and especially the large number of proprietors, suggest that competition in these villages may be keen. If duplication of services is any basis for judgment, this inference would appear to be correct. For instance, in five-eighths of the 60 villages studied in the Middle West, there were from three to nine general stores or department stores. In half, there were three or more groceries; in nine-tenths, from two to five hardware stores. None had fewer than three garages and filling stations, and the maximum number of these was twelve. In addition, in half of the villages there was more or less coöperative buying. In one-tenth there was at least one chain store; and the influence of nationally advertised goods was increasingly apparent.

Even in the realm of banking, there was considerable competition. About three villages out of five had two banks. One in eight had three or more. In many villages competition between the two banks had important consequences, both economic and social. The patrons of each lined up behind it on many matters of community concern, and a few villages were torn with dissension growing out of bank rivalries.

The severe competition in trade and finance, and the high proportion of laborers among the gainfully employed males, do not seem to have affected the proportion of homes owned. This ranges from a scant half in the South to two-thirds in the Middle West. Few of these homes were known to be mortgaged, except in the Far West, where the ratio of mortgaged to unencumbered homes was one to two. In this particular, the village considerably excels the city. Proportionately from 40 to 50 per cent. more homes are owned in villages than in cities, except in the Far West, where the advantage of the village was about 16 per cent.

By and large, the economic situation in these villages is not one teeming with attractive opportunities for youth. This is one of the reasons why two-thirds of the high-school boys and girls were not looking forward to staying in their home town. This tendency held for all regions, although the young folks in the

Middle Atlantic states were most adverse to staying at home. Girls in all regions were more anxious to go than were the boys. About half of those who did not declare that they would carry on their life work "anywhere but home" were undecided, so that only a very small proportion were definitely looking forward to settling in their home town.

It may be said that this expression of attitude was but characteristic of youthful dissatisfaction with things as they are. Two bits of evidence indicate that there is more than this to these expressions. In the house-to-house censuses conducted in seven villages, it was found that the number of young folks who had left home since the end of the World War equaled approximately 10 per cent. of the population of the village at the time of the survey. Again, as shown in Chapter I, the proportion of persons twenty to forty-five years of age was from one-seventh to one-third higher in the cities than in the villages. The dissatisfaction of youth with village life has a sound economic basis, whatever may be its social causes.

References

The following references are made to other books in this series for more detailed discussion of subjects treated in this chapter.

American Villagers, Chapters IV, VII and X, and Appendix B.

American Agricultural Villages, Chapter IV. Description of the economic life of particular villages in Part II of this volume.

Chapter IV

EDUCATION

In every village studied there was at least one school. In many were found also such educational forces as the public library, the cultural clubs and the public press.

In the 140 villages, there were 287 public and twelve private[1] schools. There were also 1,510 public schools in the contiguous rural area of the villages. The village schools were almost equally divided between elementary and high school, there being a few more of the former. Because the children of country people within the village community generally attend the high school at the center, there were only twenty such schools outside the villages; and most of these were located in neighborhoods. Except in the Far West, so-called consolidation had not made much progress. Half the villages in the South, a third of those in the Middle West, and a fifth in the Middle Atlantic villages had experimented with some form of consolidation. In the Far West, however, all but three of the twenty-two high schools were under the control of units larger than the incorporated village, and belonged either to independent or consolidated districts. All told, two-thirds of the elementary, and two-fifths of the high, schools were non-consolidated. Almost all of these non-consolidated schools, however, received pupils from within their communities on a tuition basis. Nearly everywhere, therefore, village and country have mutual educational interests.

BUILDINGS AND EQUIPMENT

In the main, the village schools measured up to current standards on building and equipment. Nine-tenths of them were reasonably well constructed, brick or other fire-resistant material

[1] The private schools were for the most part parochial, small and with little influence. They were too few in number and too scattered to warrant discussion.

predominating; and an equal proportion were lighted by electricity. Buildings erected since 1910, and a majority were even more recent, were particularly free from the defects of cross lighting, poor ventilation, narrow stairs, and others common in the days before architects began to give special attention to the needs of school buildings. The wise guidance of the bureaus of architecture of state boards of education in the planning of many of these buildings was admitted. It is probably fortunate for these villages that the growing enthusiasm for high-school education, which made necessary the erection of new buildings, did not develop in their communities until after these bureaus, which are a new departure in many states, had been organized.

One of the features of these newer buildings was the auditorium. Though occasionally this was only an extra-size room, it was more often an auditorium-gymnasium, and had come to be regarded as indispensable to the social and athletic life of school and community alike. The presence of such auditoriums in four-fifths of the villages, and occasionally of community buildings administered by the school, show the changing viewpoint of villagers in respect to the function of the school, as well as in respect to other phases of community life.

As to other equipment, pianos and victrolas were common, except in the South; but only one-tenth of the village schools used stereopticons or moving pictures. Playground apparatus was equally scarce.

The country schools presented a sharp contrast. The buildings were of frame construction, and many of them were not in good condition. Less than one-half had any artificial lighting; and, except in the Far West, scarcely any used electricity.

THE SCHOOL-TEACHERS

Nearly 3,900 school-teachers were in these communities, 53.7 per cent. of them in village schools that averaged seven teachers to a school or fifteen to each village. Of all teachers, the census records show that nearly 70 per cent. live in the village; which means that the automobile has made it possible for many country school-teachers, 36.6 per cent. to be exact, to live in one place and teach in another. It was no unusual thing to see a Ford coupé parked in the country school yard. School administrators are

wont to deplore this tendency, which weakens the tie between the teacher and her constituency.

The fact that many teachers in open-country schools live in villages explains why, in proportion to the number of pupils, there are more teachers in villages than in cities. When, however, the comparison is made between the village community and the city, the situation is reversed, except in the Middle West.

The professional preparation of these teachers varied; but in the villages less than one-fifth had failed to complete at least a full normal-school training, and more than two-fifths were college graduates. Among the regions, the Far West made the best record. Its percentage of teachers with less than full normal training was 8.6, against a record of from 21.2 to 24.1 per cent. for the other regions. By and large, the village schools have proportionately eleven times as many college graduates as have the country schools; and only one-third as many teachers who are not normal-school graduates. It was found that the small village tended to have more poorly prepared teachers than the medium or large villages; one-fourth of its teachers falling in this class, as against one-fifth in the medium and one-eighth in the large villages. On the other hand, the small village ranked second in the proportion of college graduates (two-fifths) on its school faculties; and topped the medium village by several points, though this may have been a chance of the sample. Nearly half the teachers in large villages were college graduates.

The economic factor probably explains these differences; as the larger villages are frequently more wealthy [2] and can employ college graduates; who, because of their better training, are likely to receive higher salaries. This was true in every region. Of the approximately 3,800 teachers whose salaries and training were known, only three with less than normal-school training received as much as $2,000 a year; whereas about 2 per cent. of those from normal school, and from 10 to 25 per cent. of college-trained teachers (depending on the region), drew salaries equaling or exceeding this sum. Of the poorly trained teachers, on the other hand, more than four-fifths received less than $1,000 a year; but, except in the South, less than 3 per cent. of the college and normal-school graduates were paid as little as this. Average

[2] A correlation of +.36 was secured between the salaries paid grade school-teachers and the household wealth index of the villages of the Middle West.

salaries in the village ranged from $1,153 in the South to $1,670 in the Far West. Comparable figures in the country ranged from $689 to $1,157.

The low salaries paid, especially in the country, may account for the considerable number of teachers without the accepted minimum preparation of normal-school training. It would seem, in view of the advantages the villages have over the country in their better-trained teachers, their richer curricula, and their longer school year, that the movement for consolidation of country schools with those at the community center should have proceeded more rapidly than it has, especially as the transportation cost would not be high in the average community.

PUPILS

Already about 15,000 of the 57,328 white pupils in village schools come from the country. The proportion of country children in high school, 45.6 per cent., which varies little by region, is of course much higher than that of such children in the grades; but even of these, 24 per cent. are country residents. At the time of the survey, the tendency to use the village school was continuing. Field workers were frequently informed that certain country schools, operating at the time of their visit, were scheduled for abandonment "next year."

Nearly a third of the village school enrollment was in high school; and it was found that of the high-school graduates from one-third in the Middle West to nearly a half in the South continued their education. More than half of these went to college, nearly one-third to normal schools, and the rest to business and trade schools. Despite the high proportion of pupils from the country, only a small proportion of those going to college elected agricultural institutions. In the Middle West, when the agricultural depression was more severe than elsewhere, the proportion was less than one-tenth. In no region did it exceed one-fourth. It is possible that the slight hold of the agricultural college is because of the agricultural courses in high school, although sometimes such courses seemed to stimulate agricultural college enrollment. It may be because those intending to farm do not go on to high school. Be that as it may, an overwhelming majority of 1,000 high-school boys who were asked whether they would con-

sider farming as a life work, replied in the negative. The vote against farming was heaviest where the depression had been most severe.

These same boys did have rather definite ideas of what they expected to do. Two-thirds had elected some branch of engineering. About a sixth, a large majority of them village boys, intended to farm. Business, the law, and medicine claimed the rest. Among the girls, teaching, business and nursing were the leading choices. These three callings accounted for more than nine-tenths of all the girls.

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

The study of the schools indicated that in one important particular those of the villages lead the nation. Proportionately, the number of children that attend after passing the compulsory attendance age is greater in the villages than in either the city or the country. This is true for both sexes and for those of foreign birth, or parentage, as well as for the children of native[3] white parents, and for Negroes. All told, 71.8 per cent. of the children five to twenty years of age in the village were attending school at the time of the 1920 census, as against 64.3 per cent. for the nation. During the years of compulsory school attendance, however, villages do not succeed as well as the city in securing attendance; though their record is considerably better than that of the rural regions with which they are classed in the census. Thus, while 94.4 per cent. of the city children from seven to thirteen years of age attended school in 1920, and 87.6 per cent. of the rural children, the village figure for this age was 94 per cent. This urban advantage holds for all regions except the Middle West, where the village overtopped the city by 1.9 points, with a record of 97.2 per cent.

In the matter of regularity of attendance, however, the Middle West lost its priority, the grade schools in all three classes of villages in the Far West having the best records.

Size of village seems to affect regularity of attendance in both grade schools and high schools. Except in the South, the

[3] The national, rural and urban figures used in this comparison and others following are taken from Ross' *School Attendance in the United States: 1920*, Government Printing Office (Washington, 1925). The village data are based on tables appearing in *A Census Analysis of American Villages.*

best attendance records were made in the small villages, the worst in the large. The industrial opportunities of the large village may be one explanation of the failure of either its grade school or its high school to command regularity of attendance. Certainly this affects the number that remain in school after the compulsory attendance age has been passed. Whether or not industry is chargeable for the low average attendance record, the situation is one that calls for special study, since it was the schools of the large villages that, for the most part, were the best manned, best equipped and best developed, and that, therefore, might be expected to secure a greater degree of interest and support from pupils and community than schools in smaller centers. As it was, the ratio of average annual attendance to total enrollment in the high schools of large villages exceeded 90 per cent. only in the South; while in the small villages, only the southern schools made a record of less than 90.1 per cent. In the grades, the attendance in large villages ranged from 85.9 per cent. of the enrollment in the Middle Atlantic states to 89.4 per cent. in the Far West. The range for small villages was from 78.1 per cent. in the South to 92.3 per cent. in the Far West. Medium-size villages varied from 65.9 per cent. to 93.1 per cent.

In the village communities it was the country schools that made the poorer record. In the South, the average attendance was less than 70 per cent. of the enrollment. In the Middle West and the Middle Atlantic states, it barely exceeded 75 per cent.; and only in the Far West did it exceed 80 per cent. It is obvious that in village and country alike, these schools made attendance records that the average school administration would consider poor.

Overcrowded schoolrooms could not be blamed for the poor attendance record in the large villages; because only in the South, where this size-group of villages showed the best average attendance, did the average number of pupils to each room exceed thirty, which is accepted as the maximum number of pupils to whom a teacher can do justice.

Nor does failure to offer a full four-year high-school course account for the attendance records in high schools, since only twenty-nine villages, twenty-three of them in the South, lacked the complete course.

One factor that is associated with attendance is wealth. Those villages with a high household-wealth index [4] tend to keep their children in school longer than poorer villages. This was determined by taking the ratio of village children in high school to the number of village children in the grades and correlating this index of the school's holding power with the household wealth index. The result was a positive coefficient of +.46. When the effect of size was eliminated, the resulting coefficient was +.54; but when the factor of wealth was removed, the coefficient obtained by correlating the school attendance index with total population was —.50. In others words, when there are no differences in wealth, school attendance decreases as population increases.

It is interesting to note in this connection that while richer villages paid higher salaries to teachers, wealth did not affect the average per capita school expense, which was indeed slightly higher for villages with a household wealth index of less than $4,000 than for those with an index of over $5,000. The minimum cost of maintaining a school plant is, like the minimum cost of a church, so definitely fixed that in the case of both institutions smaller or weaker units cost each individual concerned as much as do larger and stronger units, if not more.

SCHOOL COSTS

One of the important tests of the regard a community has for the service of the school, and of the efficiency of the school itself, is held to be the cost per pupil per year. Because of differences in accounting among the states, the annual teaching cost for each pupil was substituted for this index in this study. Nearly two-thirds of the $6,000,000 expended by the schools in the communities investigated went for salaries, more than seven-tenths of it being paid by villages. As would be expected, the ranking of the regions on the teaching cost for each pupil was the same as the ranking on average salary paid to teachers. For both village high schools and grade schools, the Far West led with per pupil teaching costs of $112.98 and $40.82 respectively. The South

[4] This index is arrived at, as has been explained, by raising the assessed property valuation to par and dividing by the number of households. It was applied only to the sixty villages of the Middle West, because these were the most homogeneous group among the 140.

was lowest, with costs of $64.53 and $18.22. The comparable figures for the Middle West are $93.69 and $31.15; and for the Middle Atlantic states, $78.15 and $26.95. It will be seen that in every region the annual teaching cost for each pupil in the high school was about three times what it was for the grade schools. The cost in the country grade schools ranged from $17.91 in the South to $42.26 in the Far West. Costs in the other two regions were $34.75 in the Middle West and $33.69 in the Middle Atlantic states. In other words, despite the lower salaries paid in the country and the lack of trained teachers, the teaching cost per pupil was higher than in the better-manned and better-equipped village schools. The reason for this lies in the small number of pupils to each teacher in the one-room country school; and this is another reason for considering the possibility of adopting the community as a basis for school administration and centralizing the educational work. Certainly in the 140 village communities that had consolidated educational work in this way, no disposition to return to the old system was found.[5]

SOCIAL PROGRAM OF SCHOOLS

It was discovered that in the village schools considerable adaptation of the traditional curriculum had been made to meet the present-day demand that schools prepare their pupils more definitely for the actual problems of life without neglecting certain cultural values. Among the newer subjects, civics, music and nature study led; courses in civics were found in all but nine villages. Music was taught in more than four-fifths, and nature study was included in three-fourths of the schools. Some of the civic classes, especially in high schools, had made excursions into the field of sociology, with such projects as attending sessions of the county courts and conducting surveys.

Domestic science was taught in ninety school systems, agriculture in eighty-six. The former subject was found in four-fifths of the schools of the Far West and the Middle West, and in half the schools of the South. In the Middle Atlantic states, only one-third of the villages included domestic science in the school

[5] Here again there is an interesting parallel to religious conditions. The cost per member in the small open-country churches that receive for the most part a minimum of service is higher than in the larger village churches that have a better-trained minister and a fuller program.

curriculum; but four-sevenths included agriculture, as did three-fifths of those in the South and seven-tenths of those in the Middle West. In the Far West, one less than half the schools included this subject. The teaching of agriculture had been dropped in ten of the villages because of the acute slump in the price of all farm products. In some cases commercial courses had been substituted. Manual training was found in sixty-eight schools, most of them in the two western regions. In general the small village was least likely to include these newer subjects in its school curriculum, though it led the medium and large villages in the proportion of schools teaching agriculture.

A few communities were experimenting with adult education, vocational, commercial and agricultural subjects predominating in each instance. Whatever the need or the desire for a broader program than this it is doubtful if the schools in these villages could undertake it as at present organized. It is doubtful also whether there were many more villages that needed this sort of adult education than the nine that had it. Certain it is that illiteracy was reasonably low, less than 2 per cent. of the population over ten years of age being classified as illiterate in every region except the South, where the presence of Negroes brought the proportion up to 8.9 per cent. In this respect the village made a better record than either the city or the country. In the latter illiteracy is more than twice as great; in the former about one-fourth more than in the village.

Religious education for credit was found in but few villages; but in these it was working smoothly and well, with all local churches coöperating, the Catholic churches included where these were present. Legal complications had compelled certain other villages to drop this subject.

Extra-curricula activities were found to play an important part in the program of many of the schools. Basketball was the most popular single activity; there being boys' teams in more than four-fifths of the schools, and girls' teams in three-fifths. Baseball was second, two-thirds of the schools indulging in this sport; but there were more glee clubs than football teams, eighty-four as against eighty-one; and nearly as many orchestras and literary societies. In fact, when the twenty bands are added to the other musical organizations, it develops that music is a more important interest than any one sport, and nearly as important

as all of them combined. Similarly, if the debating and the literary clubs, both especially strong in the South, be considered together, the total number of these organizations is greater than that of any athletic activity except basketball. The social program of about sixty school systems definitely included service to the entire community. Lyceum courses, musicals, plays, operettas, pageants, moving-picture exhibitions and the like, were among the activities; and in most cases the response of the community was said to be very good. Such efforts, together with the socials and dances of some of the Parent-Teacher Associations, were declared to be very helpful in solving the "problem of the young people."

EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

These Parent-Teacher Associations were important adjuncts of the school in two-fifths of the villages. They were more numerous, more active, and better-financed in the South, where the budgets averaged $410 for each association, than in any other region; but, with an average of ninety members, they were largest in the Middle and in the Far West, where average budgets were just short of $100. The associations in the Middle Atlantic states were few and weak. Activities other than those mentioned included discussions on educational subjects; the serving of hot lunches; the purchasing of library books, pianos, maps, phonographs, and other equipment; and, sometimes, efforts to bring political influence to bear to secure adequate appropriations, or to bring about school consolidation. The activities of the Parent-Teacher Associations in the villages of Dodgetown and Wesson, described in Part II of this volume, are typical of the general program.

Many of the organizations not only interested themselves in these activities but endeavored to interpret the school and the educational ideals of its faculty to the community, and to make the teachers better acquainted with the community.

The Parent-Teacher Association was the most important of the social organizations interested in education. Other socio-educational groups included current events clubs, literary societies, reading circles, historical and library associations. Thirty-five villages had no such organizations. The other 105 averaged

nearly two each; which would seem to indicate that where a village had an organized educational interest, the tendency was to have more than one group. Some organizations, such as women's clubs, carried on some educational activities in their study programs. Thus in the seven villages surveyed in one state in the Middle West, the cultural and the women's clubs received in one year 124 package libraries of books and study material on specified subjects from the extension service of the state university. In addition, 407 individuals in these seven villages, as against 277 two years before, were taking correspondence courses with the university. It appears that there are real intellectual interests in many villages; and that a surprising number of people, if given the facilities to pursue them, will avail themselves of the opportunity.

PUBLIC LIBRARIES

Probably the most important educational force other than the school found in the villages was the public library. Nearly all the schools had libraries, averaging over 1,000 volumes, and a number of them were open to the public. In addition, there were public libraries in seventy-nine, or 56 per cent., of the villages. It was in the Far West that the highest proportion of these libraries was found, only four of twenty-two villages lacking them. In the Middle West, there were libraries in two-thirds of the villages; in the Middle Atlantic, in two-fifths; and in the South, in three-tenths. As to the size of the places in relation to the presence or absence of libraries, only three-tenths of the villages of fewer than 1,000 inhabitants had them, compared with about seven-tenths of the larger villages. Wealth, too, was a factor associated with the presence of libraries. In the Middle West, half of the eighteen villages with a household-wealth index of under $4,000 had libraries, twelve of the nineteen whose wealth index ranged from $4,000 to $5,000 per household, and fifteen of the eighteen that had a wealth index of above $5,000. It was also found that the per capita circulation of books was higher in the richer villages than in the poorer ones, presumably because there was greater leisure in these villages.

Women's clubs were found to have done more for the establishment of libraries than had any other single agency; and in a

number of cases they were conducting the institution by the volunteer service of their members.

So great a variety was found in the efficiency and scope of these libraries that it is impossible to compare them according to ordinary statistical standards. Only half had buildings. Librarians were volunteers, part-time or full-time workers, some trained, many not. The hours the library was open each week varied from two to sixty-six; the number being directly related to the training and salary of the librarian. The number of books on the shelves varied from several hundred to 18,000; but was largest in the Far West and in the Middle West. More than half the books were fiction; and in individual libraries the proportion of fiction often exceeded three-fourths. The books themselves were of uneven merit, donations and book canvasses having often produced results comparable only to the proverbial missionary barrel. The budget of one-fifth of the libraries was less than $250. In two-fifths of the cases it was from $350 to $1,000; and in the remainder it ranged from $1,000 to $3,750.

Funds for the support of these institutions came from public funds or private gifts, and often from both. Sixteen were Carnegie libraries. Membership fees were used in thirty-three cases, in two-thirds of which only open-country borrowers had to pay them. Perhaps this accounts for the fact that less than 10 per cent. of the open-country people were reached by the libraries—only the Middle West slightly exceeding this figure—although lack of leisure on the part of the farmer, and lack of funds for extension work by the library, were also important factors.[6] In the South open-country borrowers represented only one-tenth of 1 per cent. of the population. In those villages having libraries, the proportion of village population on the list of borrowers was 7 per cent. in the South, and over 40 per cent. elsewhere. The circulation averaged three books per inhabitant in the Middle Atlantic villages and those of the Middle West, 3.6 in the Far West, and 1.1 in the South.

In a study of this kind it was impossible to estimate the place of the public press in the education of the community. In the villages in which a house-to-house census was undertaken, it was

[6] The problem of supplying library facilities for open-country dwellers is being approached in some states through the county library system which establishes branch libraries and depositories throughout the county. Seven villages, four in California, operated under this plan.

found that most families took at least one newspaper and an average of about 1.3 magazines. In small villages, the mail order magazines and agricultural papers headed the list. In large communities, women's magazines and the popular monthly led. Despite the dearth of reading matter in many homes, reading was one of the most popular ways of spending leisure time. Among the high-school students, Zane Grey was the most popular author among the boys; Gene Stratton-Porter among the girls. Local newspapers, found in 90 per cent. of the villages, were not distinguished publications for the most part. Personal items predominated. News of organizations was also carried; and in some villages the school superintendent was making good use of the local paper. Average circulations ranged from 1,079 in the medium-size villages to 1,619 in the larger centers.

It is apparent from this summary that the educational and cultural activities other than those conducted by the public school are relatively weak and ineffective in villages; but that in about three-fourths of the places studied some attempt at least has been made by organizations to provide them, and that in a few villages this attempt has gone far.

References

The following references are made to other books in this series for more detailed discussion of subjects treated in this chapter.

American Agricultural Villages, Chapter V, last section of Chapter VII and Chapter X.

American Villagers, Chapter VII.

A Census Analysis of American Villages (tables on school attendance and illiteracy). Description of school systems in particular villages in Part II of this volume. See also:

Ross, *School Attendance in the United States: 1920* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1925).

Rapier, *The Consolidated Rural School* (New York, Scribner's, 1920), Chapters I to V, IX, XII to XIV.

Library Extension, American Library Association, 1926.

Chapter V

HEALTH

Health, like education, has become a matter of governmental concern; but the study of the medical services available in villages, and of the steps taken to solve the problems of public health, showed a surprising lack either of local initiative or of local efficiency. It was not possible to take professional training and skill into account as gauges of the adequacy of service; but the number of physicians was important for this purpose, as was the number of hospitals, as well as the number of nurses. And it was possible to ascertain how many hospitals there were, and how many physicians and nurses were available.

It was found that there was no well-integrated plan for caring for public health in the villages studied. Unlike education and religion, the health interest has not come to a high degree of organization in rural America. Various official and private agencies were at work; but there was little coördination of effort. Records were meager and not comparable; and in most cases there was almost no financial support, especially so far as the village government was concerned. No other field of the investigation yielded results so negative in character.

THE DISAPPEARING COUNTRY DOCTOR

One of the serious problems in the field is the exodus of physicians from country communities. A doctor living in the open country is a rarity. The service areas of village physicians are almost invariably larger than the area of the community. In a considerable majority of cases they were found to be more than twice as large. Even on the basis of the population within the community area there are nearly twice as many physicians to each 1,000 of the population in cities as there are in village communities in every region except the Middle Atlantic, where the urban advantage is 33.33 per cent. The cities also have better

dental service; and, in proportion to population, they have about five times as many nurses as the village communities, except in the South, where the urban advantage is more than fourteen-fold.[1] The exodus of physicians seems to be unchecked. There was a decline of nearly 2 per cent. a year in the number of physicians in communities of from 1,000 to 2,500 population between 1906 and 1923, according to a study by the General Education Board. In one-tenth of the villages studied, some doctor, often "the best," had just left or announced his intention of going. The long hours, arduous trips at all hours, low economic returns, increasing tendency on the part of rural folk to employ urban specialists, absence of laboratory facilities, and the desire for urban educational and social advantages were all given as causes of this movement.

Despite the exodus of physicians, nineteen hospitals were found in the 140 villages. A few communities had two each. Except for a few hospitals at county-seat towns, these institutions were small, averaging fewer than a dozen beds; were poorly equipped; and were used largely for obstetrical and emergency cases. Most of them had been founded by physicians for profit; and a number had become losing ventures. It was stated that some would be closed.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND HEALTH

The traditional agency for the care of public health has been the village board of health, with its health officer. Its duties have seldom gone beyond tacking up quarantine notices and burying dead animals. About half the villages had no such board or health officer. In these cases, the mayor and the borough fathers sometimes performed these duties. In other villages, a county health officer was responsible. County officials were usually credited with being more impartial and expeditious in the discharge of duty than was the local functionary, who at best was an untrained, part-time official who received only a small honorarium for his services. So far as could be statistically determined it made little difference whether a community had a health officer or not, unless that official was a physician.

[1] In one-eighth of the villages there were no dentists, and in half of them, no nurses.

From three to five or more epidemics had occurred in a large number of these villages in the years immediately preceding the survey. It was asserted that many of them could have been checked or prevented but for the ignorance or preoccupation of the untrained health officer. Epidemics were fewer in the twenty-nine villages that had employed physicians as health officers. In several cases these men had won spectacular battles with a threatened scourge; and occasionally had supplanted untrained men in the midst of a crisis. Nineteen of the villages employing physicians as health officers were in the Far West region; and in California only physicians can serve. It is possible that climate and other factors, besides the presence of competent health officers, may have had something to do with the relative freedom of these twenty-nine villages from contagious disease; but they could hardly have been entirely responsible for the better showing.

THE SCHOOL AND HEALTH

The institution that was more likely than any other to follow parts of the modern public health program was the school. Half the schools had at least the part-time service of a public health nurse who assisted in, or conducted, the physical examination of school children (included in the program of 55 per cent. of the schools), gave instruction in hygiene, and worked with mothers' organizations and individuals. Other features of the health program were frequently found in communities that had nursing service, such as hot luncheon in the schools and clinics of various sorts. One or more of these latter were conducted, or had been, within two years of the survey, in two-fifths of the villages, the Far West leading. Within the same period there had been a falling off of one-fourth in the number of nurses employed. This loss was blamed on the agricultural depression; and on poor organization, or poor work on the part of the nurse. While there may have been other causes, it is certain that wealth tended to be associated with the presence of a public health nurse. Half the Middle West villages with a household-wealth index of $5,000 or more had nursing service but only two-sevenths of those with under $4,000 and two-fifths of those that lay between these extremes. The work of the nurse seemed to be successful in proportion to her contact with the community.

STATE AND COUNTY HEALTH WORK

The state and county each made contributions to public health work in villages; but the services offered varied greatly. One promoted clinics, another offered lecture service, a third distributed antitoxin and serums, others did all these things and more. Communities did not seem to be sufficiently informed about what assistance might be obtained from state and county.[2]

It is apparent from this recital of facts that organization for health in these villages is limited and ineffective. One probable reason for this is the failure of the general run of officials and people to understand what can be done about health. Another is the attitude of many physicians who resent the intrusion of nurses, lay leaders, or state officials into their fields. A third reason is the lack of organized effort to grapple with the problems of rural and village sanitation and hygiene. Most attention has been given, and successfully, to the cities. The program for rural America, in the light of its low density of population and relatively low taxable property, is still to be worked out; but some progress has been made.

In the first place, the many attempts by schools, women's clubs, Parent-Teacher Associations and the like "to do something about health," have all helped to inform people that "perhaps there's something in this health business." The story of Tuckerton in Part II of this volume contains an instance of this attitude and its results.

In some communities, including one near one of the villages studied, physicians have been employed by the public to keep the community well; and annual physical examinations and a thoroughgoing program of preventive medicine have been installed. Perhaps the continuing exodus of country doctors will force the extension of this scheme.

Finally, with the aid, in part, of national organizations, such as the International Health Board and the Red Cross, a number of demonstrations are being staged in various parts of America that will perhaps develop a feasible way of dealing with rural public health. One of the most promising of the expedients tried is the county health unit. Several of the villages studied were

2 The Story of Tuckerton in Part II describes a fairly good situation existing in that village.

in counties with such units. Education, sanitary demonstrations, vaccination and inoculation against disease, safeguarding of milk and water, physical examination of school children, and the conduct of clinics of many sorts make up the program. A county health officer is in charge, assisted by a sanitary inspector, a clerk, and one or more nurses.

References

The following references are made to other books in this series for more detailed discussion of subjects treated in this chapter.

American Agricultural Villages, Chapters VIII and X.

American Villagers, Chapter VII. See also:

Rural Health, a conference report. (New York, American Country Life Association, 1920.)

Nason, *Rural Hospitals.* (Farmers' Bulletin 1485, U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1926.)

Chapter VI

THE CHURCH IN THE VILLAGE

There was no village among those studied that was without a church, just as there was none without a school. In nearly every place, as was to be expected, the churches far outnumbered the schools; and the study brought out the fact that there are proportionately more churches in agricultural villages than in communities of any other type. For each thousand of population in these villages there were 4.2 churches, and 3.1 for each thousand in the entire community; while there is one church for approximately each 1,600 persons in the cities, on the basis of the 1916 United States Religious Census. The influence of the small-town mind therefore bulks disproportionately large in the councils of most of the denominations.

The study of the Church in these 140 agricultural village communities was therefore important. It was important because of the number of churches, the total being 1,400, no other institution approaching it in frequency; because of the capital investment involved, over $12,500,000; because of the cost of upkeep, approximately $2,000,000 annually; and because of social cleavages which in villages often become more marked when there are many churches.

The survey sought to answer such questions as: What sort of an institution is the village church? How well does it reach the various age, sex and locality groups in the village and its community? What is the extent, and what the result, of so-called "overchurching"? What is the status of the movement for uniting churches in rural communities?

The study showed that village churches differed very little from rural churches surveyed in other studies by the Institute.

There was the familiar story of small memberships, three-fifths of the churches having less than one hundred; of poor buildings, one-half with but one room; of Sunday schools poor in equipment of all kinds, archaic in method and lacking trained

teachers; and of a church program highly stereotyped and built largely around the preaching function. The village churches differed from those of the earlier study in that they paid slightly higher salaries; in their higher property valuation; in that there was a smaller proportion of aided churches, but a much higher grant to each church; and in their considerably higher proportion, 15 per cent. as against 1 per cent., of churches having Daily Vacation Bible Schools and week-day religious education. These differences are partly to be accounted for by the fact that the average size of the villages surveyed was larger in this study than in the earlier one.

How successfully does the Church as an institution, handicapped as it is in the ways enumerated, reach those in the community whom it seeks to enlist? This question is in reality two. Does the Church enlist country people as successfully as villagers? Does it reach the various age-groups and sex-groups with the same degree of success?

THE APPEAL OF THE CHURCH

The initial step, in answering the first of these two questions, was to ascertain whether churches were distributed between village and open country in proportion to the population of these two community areas. This was found not to be the case: 40 per cent. of the village community population were villagers; but 56 per cent. of the churches were located in the centers. Furthermore, one-eighth of the population of these communities lived in neighborhoods; but one-fourth of the churches were in these minor centers. This is not necessarily proof of poor distribution. The location of a church is settled on the basis of maximum convenience of access for the largest number of people. It does indicate, however, that village churches must put more effort into reaching the countryman than in reaching the villager.

The opinion that villager and countryman are reached about equally well by the Church may seem logical when it is remembered that approximately a third of the village church-members live outside the incorporated limits of the village; but this conclusion is erroneous. The proportion of country people who are enrolled in church is only about half that of the villagers. The village church could not exist without its country membership;

but its service to the country is partial and haphazard. Lest it seem to compete with the struggling country church of its own communion on the outskirts of its community, it confines its service to the village; but it receives those who come to it from the country, usually the more prosperous families, thereby condemning the country church to an even more hopeless struggle for survival. The studies of individual villages in Part II, especially Alford and Dodgetown, illustrate this point.

With certain exceptions, notably among the liturgical churches of the Middle Atlantic and the Middle Western regions, and where there are sharp social distinctions between village and country, the trend of rural Protestantism is villageward. Though its existence was admitted, this trend was nowhere administratively recognized by the local churches studied. The facts would seem to call for study by the denominations, and for the development of a policy that would integrate the church work so as to serve the entire community.

Not only does the Church in the village community fail to reach the countryman as well as the villager, but it also fails to reach males as well as women. Of the people of the villages, 48.5 per cent. were males; but only 39.9 per cent. of the church-members were of this sex. This finding is of interest, not only because it shows a condition similar to that existing in cities, where, according to the 1916 Religious Census, 45.3 per cent. of church-members are males, but particularly because the rural church has frequently been credited with enlisting men and women in about equal proportions. When it is remembered, however, that there are only one-ninth as many organizations for men and boys as for women and girls in these churches, the proportion of males in the membership is perhaps not to be wondered at. Rural churches have found out how to attract and hold women by providing activities that especially interest them. They have found no comparable activities for the men.

In every region, too, a disproportionate number of the village church-membership was found to be made up of older people; especially of women over 45 years of age, who comprise about one-fourth of the church-membership in these villages. The men of this age-group account for another one-sixth of the total. This preponderance of members in the upper age-groups raises some interesting questions as to the future of many of these

churches. What was true of the village churches was true in greater degree of the country churches in the village areas, despite the greater number of young people and the higher ratio of males to females.

It was sometimes stated in these villages that the multiplicity of competing churches kept many out of the church. It was impossible to find out whether or not this was true. The question as to the extent and results of so-called overchurching was, however, investigated.

THE NUMBER OF CHURCHES

The average number of churches to each village was 5.6. More villages had four churches than any other number. The next largest group was made up of villages that had five churches each. Sixty villages had seven or more; and two reached the maximum of fifteen. These numbers are exclusive of churches outside the incorporated limits of the village but inside its community. Seventy-seven different sects operated these village churches.

An attempt was made to ascertain whether church efficiency declined as the number of churches increased. The sample of churches was not sufficiently large, when distributed by regions according to the size and wealth[1] of villages, to produce conclusive results.

It is interesting to note in this connection that, according to the U. S. Religious Census of 1916, urban churches with less than one church to each 1,000 of the population reached 45.9 per cent. of the population; whereas these village churches enlisted 28 per cent. of the population of their communities.

The effect of different degrees of competition among local churches was tested by grouping the village communities according to the number of churches per 1,000 of community population. Fifty communities had from two to three churches per 1,000 inhabitants, and forty-one had from three to four; so that more than three-fifths had a church for every 225 to 500 inhabitants. There were twenty-one communities with relatively fewer

[1] Wealth seems to have a decided influence on the church. The percentage of males twenty-one years of age and over who join the church gave a correlation with the household-wealth index of +.49. The coefficient resulting from correlating per capita wealth with the proportion of actual to potential church-membership was +.42.

churches than this, and twenty-eight with relatively more. The communities with the higher degrees of competition had on the whole progressively smaller average populations.

As competition increased, the averages for church-membership, Sunday-school enrollment, attendance at the principal service and expenditures of all kinds, showed a marked and consistent decline, as did the proportion of churches gaining in the year preceding the survey. Per capita expenditure, however, did not greatly vary with the degree of competition.

When church data were related to population figures, increase in the relative number of churches was found to be associated with a progressive increase in the proportion of the population enrolled in the membership of local churches, in the proportion enrolled in the Sunday schools, in the number of resident ministers per 1,000 inhabitants, in the ratio of average attendance at church to the population, and in local expenditures by the churches per inhabitant. Though the rate of increase was by no means in proportion to the rate of increase in the relative number of churches, it was nevertheless marked. While the communities with more than four churches per 1,000 inhabitants had relatively three and one-third times as many churches as had those with fewer than two churches per 1,000 inhabitants, nevertheless they had a local expenditure per inhabitant by the churches of more than 25 per cent. more; and enrolled in the membership of their churches more than 50 per cent. more of the population, and in their Sunday schools more than two and one-third times as large a proportion. Judged by these superficial tests of their total impact on the community, competitive denominational churches would seem to succeed in proportion to their relative number. An organized church for each small sectarian group enlists more people, increases the sense of individual responsibility, and intensifies the spirit of rivalry.

On the other hand, increasing degrees of competition mean, for each church and Sunday school, smaller membership, lower attendance, smaller revenues, and a diminished chance to grow; and for the community, a lower proportion of resident ministers. Though the operation of such factors is not easily measured in figures, it would seem likely to result in divided and often conflicting aims, in the concentration of what forces are available

on the minimum program of conventional church activities, and in general on an inferior quality of service to the community.[2]

Over half the villages had in them some church receiving home-mission aid; the average grant being $350, and amounts of from $600 to $900 being in no way exceptional.

No attempt has been made to measure the spiritual effects of overchurching. There was much testimony by local leaders as to the effects. For instance, where competition among churches was severe, there was much complaint that religious differences prevented unified action in various community projects; that they made such dissimilar things as community organization and week-day religious education impossible. This was especially noticeable in a Pennsylvania community in which the eighteen churches

[2] Inasmuch as some of the assertions made above rest on tabulations made since the publication of *American Agricultural Villages,* the data upon which they rest follow:

CHURCHES IN 138 VILLAGE COMMUNITIES GROUPED ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF CHURCHES PER 1,000 INHABITANTS

Number of Churches per 1,000 Inhabitants	Number of Communities	Number of Churches	Average Membership	Per Cent. with Resident Minister	Per Cent. Churches Gaining (Last Year)	Average Attendance Principal Service	Average Sunday-school Enrollment	Average Expenditure		Benevolence	Per Cent. Churches with Home-Mission Aid
								Amount	*Per Capita*		
Under 2	21	122	175.4	55.7	65.3	151.4	114.3	$2,193	$13.02	$565	13.9
2 to 3	49	475	145.6	46.3	58.7	120.9	104.3	2,097	14.12	659	7.2
3 to 4	40	413	102.9	38.7	52.0	108.0	89.0	1,544	14.44	461	10.0
4 and over	28	366	82.3	30.1	50.0	124.9	83.3	935	11.23	319	12.1

INDICES OF CHURCH INTEREST IN COMMUNITIES GROUPED ACCORDING TO THE NUMBER OF CHURCHES PER 1,000 INHABITANTS

Number of Churches per 1,000 Inhabitants	Number of Communities	Number of Churches	Per Cent. of Population in Membership of Local Churches	Number of Resident Ministers per 1,000 Inhabitants	Per Cent. of Population Enrolled in Sunday Schools	Local Expenditure of Churches per Inhabitant	Home-Mission Aid per Inhabitant
Under 2	21	122	27.4	0.9	15.8	$2.50	$0.12
2 to 3	49	475	36.0	1.2	22.3	3.39	0.05
3 to 4	40	413	34.8	1.3	25.2	3.37	0.10
4 and over	28	366	43.4	1.6	37.4	3.20	0.12

had enlisted barely half of the population of 1,500. It was markedly absent in Parma, Idaho, where one of the most successful rural churches in America ministered to an entire community with its church and community house. To trace and evaluate the spiritual effects of overchurching through the different degrees of overchurching in the different villages is not a task for which this study was equipped.

THE EMOTIONAL CHURCHES

In some communities, church competition was not so much among the established denominations as between these bodies and the newer emotional sects. Especially on the Pacific Coast these sects had made inroads on the hold of the older bodies. At the time of the survey (1925) there was a question whether the loosely organized, footloose groups that have arisen in revolt against the older, better-established denominations would ultimately break down the older denominations; or whether they would give new life and impetus to the older groups, establishing thereby new, well-organized, more progressive religious institutions having broad enough vision to minister successfully to all groups.

The emotionalists are generally organized on the fringes of the larger communities. Their meetings are held in tents, vacant stores, halls, or homes. Less than half own their buildings, and these are largely inexpensive structures.

The ministers of these sects, in the churches that have any, are usually untrained and poorly paid, if paid at all. Many are laymen. Memberships are small, as a rule, though the attendance at evangelistic services outnumbers the church-memberships many times. Recruits are generally secured, not from the unchurched classes, but from the memberships of other churches. They include those who have grown dissatisfied with their former organizations, which they have found too formal and unadapted to afford opportunity for individual expression. Others have joined the emotionalist groups to be healed of various diseases by faith when medicines have failed to produce a cure. Thus the gain of the new has, in many cases, meant loss to the older, better-established organizations.

Many theories were advanced to account for the rapid growth

of this type of religion. Some said they believed it was only a natural part of the westward movement; that it was an attempt to fill the needs of those hungry for the revival of the old-time camp-meeting religion; that it was a stab at modernism, an extreme swing of the pendulum toward fundamentalism; that it was part of the post-bellum state of mind. One religious leader remarked that this type of spiritual expression was a wedge that, if its strength continued to grow, would succeed in time in breaking up the old, established denominations.

Others gave as a reason that the churches in the villages had become so traditionalized that they stressed missions rather than service. It was amazing how many opportunities for such service to neglected groups had been passed by. One Middle Atlantic village had a group that had come over from the Southern Mountains, another a poor class of mixed blood and of moronic intelligence, and many had industrial groups or neighborhoods; but very few instances were found of even evangelistic effort to reach such groups: and it was among them that the emotional sects gained a foothold most successfully.

UNITED CHURCHES

One of the interesting developments in the village church field was the presence of united churches. It appeared that here was a phenomenon of considerable importance; and therefore a special investigation of these local efforts toward church union was undertaken in which an attempt was made to locate all churches of this kind in communities of less than 2,500 population, and to procure such information about them as was published in yearbooks or that could be secured by a simple questionnaire. In addition, about one-tenth of these churches were visited by field workers of the Institute.

Extent of Movement

The movement for the union of local churches did not appear till the economic decline of rural communities in certain sections of the United States began to attract the attention of religious leaders and students of rural conditions—that is, not till about 1890. For a quarter of a century, the formation of united churches proceeded very slowly. Only forty-four of the united churches existing in 1924, of the kinds for which dates of union

were ascertainable, had been formed as long ago as 1912. In small places, economic pressure has increased since that year, and there has been a gradual change in public sentiment regarding denominational differences. After 1912 the formation of united churches was rapid. In 1924 the Institute discovered 977 of them in town and country areas of the northern and western parts of the United States.

Types of United Churches

These united churches were of four types, each of which sought to lessen or to prevent overchurching in a different way. According to one plan, each of the churches combining kept its connection with its denominational body, unions thus formed being called federated churches. By a second method, one or more churches relinquished denominational allegiance to become merged in another church, accepting the denominational connection of the latter; and the resulting union was styled a consolidated church, one of the forms of the denominational united church. Less frequently, both or all the churches concerned cut themselves off from their denominational bodies; and in such cases the united church was called an undenominational church. Finally, certain united churches maintained a loose connection with a denomination for specified purposes—in a few cases with two or more denominations—but claimed a considerable degree of independence. United churches of this kind, which were identified as a distinct type by the Institute, were designated "affiliated" churches.

United churches of all these types arose, not always through the union of existing denominational churches recognized as too numerous, but sometimes in two other ways; through the broadening of a single church to receive members from other denominational origins, and through the formation of a new church by individuals of several, often of many, diverse affiliations.

The number of churches of each of the four types that were discovered in 1924 in communities of less than 2,500 population, follows:

Federated churches	312
Undenominational churches	137
Denominational united churches	491
Affiliated churches	37

More than four-fifths of these united churches were in small communities having a population of the center of 1,000 or less. Most of the others were in larger villages; fewer than 4 per cent. were in towns.

United churches of all types were found in every part of the field studied. Federated churches were most numerous in the eastern part of the country, where denominational competition has long been a problem. The predominant type in the Far West was the denominational united church. Undenominational churches had their greatest strength in the Middle West.

Denominations Represented

The churches uniting to form united churches represented comparatively few denominations; but these denominations were among those strongest in rural America. The churches uniting included no foreign-language churches, no Catholic or Hebrew or Christian Science churches, virtually no churches of the emotional type, and but few liturgical churches. Most of them were either immersionist churches or churches of a type that the Institute called "predominant," because of the comparatively large number of them, and the large number of their church-members, in the town and country area. Seven-eighths of the organized churches that were ascertained to have entered into formal unions of all kinds were of four denominations. One of these, the Northern Baptist, was an immersionist denomination; and three, the Congregational, the Methodist Episcopal, and the Presbyterian in the U. S. A., were of the predominant type. Scattered churches belonged to twelve other denominations, of which three were immersionist, one was emotional, and eight were predominant. The elements of these two types were found almost exclusively combined in two ways; an immersionist element combined with a predominant element, or a predominant element combined with another predominant element.

Individual members of united churches, however, came not only from the denominations, churches of which had entered into formal unions, but from faiths of every sort. These members included Catholics and Unitarians, Mormons and Lutherans, Holy Rollers and Episcopalians. Altogether they represented at least fifty different faiths.

Some Statistics

Though statistical data were available for only three-fourths of the 977 united churches listed, the incomplete data showed a membership of more than 80,000, benevolences of more than $300,000, and church buildings and parsonages with a total valuation of more than six and three-quarters millions of dollars. The movement had an organ and its leaders a national fellowship.

Though united churches normally arose from a desire on the part of church leaders to eliminate, to lessen, or to prevent competition among local churches—sometimes, even, from what a local leader called "a unanimous community desire for one Protestant church"—yet not all united churches were alone in their respective communities. Churches of denominations not entering into unions, such as Catholic churches, foreign-language churches, and emotional churches, naturally existed in many communities alongside of united churches. Not infrequently there was present a church of the immersionist or of the predominant type, or even a church of some one of the four denominations most commonly represented in unions. Nevertheless, out of a sample consisting of one-half of the united churches listed in 1924, 44.9 per cent. were the only ones in their respective communities, 55.3 per cent. the only Protestant churches, and 70.6 per cent. were free from the competition of any church either of the immersionist or of the predominant type. In not a few communities, a united church that at first combined only a part of the denominational elements of the population, later won to itself an additional element.

Certain Characteristics

With a view to ministering acceptably to Christians of diverse denominational origins, united churches had adopted several characteristic provisions and practices. They admitted to membership Christians of other denominations without exacting adherence to any denominational doctrine or submission to any denominational rite. Some united churches attained this end by means of associate membership; others by receiving in the regular membership all new members whatever their denominational adherence. The themes made prominent in services were the essential truths accepted by Christians of all denominations. Forms of worship were usually those common to the denominations represented, with compromise regarding any inconsistent usages.

Strength and Weakness

In attempting to minister to their complex constituency, united churches had several peculiar advantages. They were accepted with unusual readiness by non-church-members as the church of the community, especially when it was the only Protestant church in the field; but also, in many cases, when it was not the only one. They were also able, without embarrassment or rivalry, to make comprehensive plans for community welfare. They had unusually large Sunday schools and young people's societies. They drew a comparatively large proportion of their funds from subscribers outside the membership. By combining two or more inadequate church buildings, a considerable number had acquired serviceable plants. Through the pooling of their receipts, they were able to maintain their standard of church life at a higher level than before union; and were able to pay an unusually high salary to their ministers, thereby securing a higher than ordinary proportion of full-time resident ministers with a liberal education. While securing these extra advantages, moreover, many of the united churches devoted less money to local expenditures than the component churches had together expended for such purposes before union. The benevolences of united churches of most types, though below the averages for strictly denominational churches, were on the whole considerably greater than had been those of their elements previous to union.

Each of the types of united churches was found to have points of weakness and of strength; and each had proved itself better adapted than any other to unite the religious forces in particular kinds of situations. Union as a federated church was more readily adopted in communities where two or more churches were strongly entrenched, especially if the church leaders were of advanced age. On the other hand, divided allegiance and property interests sometimes led to dissolution of the partnership, and frequently tended to delay amalgamation.

The undenominational church was discovered to be the form of union most readily adopted both in strong competitive situations and in new communities much divided in religious adherence. Many united churches of this type attained unity of spirit with comparative ease. In a few communities where local leadership was uncommonly strong and sustained, undenominational churches had had long careers of usefulness. Except under such

unusual conditions, however, since they lacked expert supervision, attested ministerial supply, and the other advantages provided by overhead bodies, most undenominational churches were comparatively ineffective, lacked a strong program of benevolence, and in many cases fell into inactivity.

The united church of the denominational type had the advantages resulting from responsible, experienced overhead leadership. Judged by the standard tests, it had a high degree of efficiency. It sustained its activity in a much greater proportion of cases than either the undenominational church or the federated church. It had, however, greater difficulty than united churches of other types in winning to membership persons of other denominations; and, once a denomination was cordially adopted by the outsiders, a denominational united church sometimes tended to revert into a strictly denominational church.

The affiliated church was believed by the leaders of such churches to have the advantages of overhead connection without suffering so much from the disadvantages experienced by united churches more closely connected with overhead bodies; but far fewer examples of this type were certainly identified, and because of its comparative youth its possibilities had not been fully tested.

There were found, in 1924, successful churches of each of the four types of union. After a few years, in most cases, the diverse elements composing a united church, through meeting common difficulties, fulfilling common tasks, and engaging in common worship, had become closely welded into one.

The types of union, however, were all in a formative stage. Their forms of organization had not been standardized. A variety of experimental solutions of the many problems encountered were being tried independently. A considerable number of united churches had shifted from one type of union to another.

United churches, originating for the most part, especially in the beginning, through local initiative, made their appearance after some hundreds of years of denominationalism. Each of the denominations had perfected forms of organization and methods of procedure that afforded no provision for meeting the peculiar needs of united churches. These phenomena, therefore, presented to the denominations many new problems. Some of these had been considered by national assemblages, and others by supervisory officials; and progress had been made in certain parts

of the country in providing united churches of most types with aid in becoming united, with ministerial supply, with supervision and even with home-mission aid. Many problems, however, still remained unsolved.

Efforts to achieve adjustments between the united churches and the religious order were also being made in many states by state interdenominational agencies, some of which were especially active in forwarding new unions in certain of the very many small communities where local people, rebelling against what they considered the waste and ineffectiveness of overchurching, were groping for some way to unite their religious forces.

SOME CONCLUSIONS

In the general situation that has been observed and described, it is possible to see certain trends.

1. Rural Protestantism is being more and more organized around the village.

2. The village church has not learned how to reach and to serve villagers and countrymen with equal efficiency.

3. Until the village church does solve this problem, the decline of the church as an open-country institution may be expected to continue.

4. The number of churches in proportion to population in villages, as well as the experience of various state councils of churches and state home mission councils, would seem to indicate that it is in the village that the Protestant sects must settle the question as to whether there is to be competition or coöperation among rural churches.

5. Were it not for the influx of retiring farmers into the village, and their membership in its churches, actuarial statistics would indicate that a majority of village churches were doomed to extinction within another decade.

6. Regardless of its handicaps and liabilities, and regardless of the falling church attendance generally admitted to field workers, the village church exerts a considerable influence as a conservator of moral opinion. While it was often said that the church had little influence on conduct, it was observed that those things that it condemned were more often opposed than condoned by the public opinion of the place.

7. The united church movement, while new, experimental and admittedly opportunistic, was found to be arousing great interest in villages; and the possibility of the ultimate uniting of at least some of the churches in the community was frequently mentioned by leaders in a great majority of the villages studied, except in the South.

References

The following references are made to other books in this series for more detailed discussion of subjects treated in this chapter.

American Agricultural Villages, Chapters VI and X, and Appendix C.

United Churches, entire volume. Descriptions of church life in particular villages in Part II of this volume.

See also:

The Town and Country Church in the United States. (Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1923.)

Diagnosing the Rural Church. (Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1924.)

Chapter VII

SOCIAL LIFE IN VILLAGES

There are two kinds of social activities in any community: those incident to the unorganized, face-to-face contacts of individuals in the ordinary round of duties or pleasures, and the organized or institutionalized activities fostered by such agencies as the lodges, civic organizations, card, sewing and athletic clubs, and the like. In the nature of the case, this investigation was more concerned with the latter; but there were certain conditions that affected activities of both kinds.

STRUCTURE OF THE VILLAGE

One of the influencing factors was the structure of the village itself. The effect on the social life of the community of characteristic differences between the country and the center has been noted. Within the villages, small as were the incorporated limits, seldom exceeding two square miles and often much smaller, there were embryonic "Bowling Greens," "Gold Coasts" or "Little Italys." This was especially true when a Negro, Mexican or southern European group was present in the population; sometimes where there were no such groups. Not infrequently a railroad track marked a social boundary line. On one side lived the native sons, the owners of businesses, or professional people, "the 400"; on the other side lived the clerks, laborers or newcomers, in short the *hoi polloi.* Often each of these groups had its own social organizations. This is well illustrated in the stories of Jefferson and Tuckerton in Part II.

Other influencing factors were less easy to trace. An overplus of card or sewing clubs might indicate exceptional enthusiasm for whist or needlework, or it might signify the presence of cliques within the community, cliques that perhaps had their rootages in the rivalry of two banks, of two factories, or of two department stores. It was amazing how frequently certain serv-

ices went in pairs; how often ties of race, religion or finance determined allegiances; how intricate was the tangle of motives responsible for social cleavages within the village. In the city, the intimate contacts of social life seldom reach out into the clashes of the economic world. Dwellers in the same apartment house may never meet; colleagues in the same office may have no dealings with one another after hours. In the village, this is impossible; acquaintanceship is too close. Even intimacy is hard to avoid. This accounts for that inflexible pressure of public opinion in the village; and for the merciless dissection of motive and character in which no psychologist in his laboratory ever surpassed the village back-fence specialists whose conclusions are broadcast with an efficiency few wireless stations can achieve.

It accounts too for the reported vitality of many village cliques; and it is safe to conclude that the multiplicity of organized social groups in villages springs to a considerable extent from these various cliques and differences.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

About these social organizations the study sought to answer such questions as:

How many kinds of social organizations are there? What is the importance, and what is the program, of each? How are they supported by villagers? What are the present tendencies in leisure-time activities in villages?

Almost 3,000 social organizations, exclusive of those in schools and churches, were found in the 140 villages. These organizations were of nine main types: fraternal, civic, social, economic, patriotic, educational, athletic, musical and socio-religious.

Of these, the fraternal organizations or lodges were the most numerous and influential; and, on the whole, the most democratic. One-third of all social organizations are of this type; and seventy-six different kinds of lodges were found. The number of lodges in a community ranged from two to seventeen, and averaged four in the Middle Atlantic and southern states, where, though fewer, lodges were stronger than elsewhere; eight in the Middle West; and ten in the Far West. With the exception of the ten junior orders, all of these lodges were for adults. Three-fifths of the

total membership in male organizations, more than one-third of the total membership of women's organizations, and nearly half that of mixed groups, is credited to lodges. The Masons and Odd Fellows, and their respective women's organizations, were the leading orders.

The great strength of the lodges was traceable to the insurance feature. This, in part, accounted for their large memberships. Their meetings, as will be seen, were none too well attended and were usually of a routine nature, except for their socials and banquets, which were real events.

Civic organizations stood second only to lodges in number and membership. Ten per cent. of the male, and one-fourth of the female, membership of social groups belonged to this group. Women were therefore relatively more interested in this sort of activity than were the men. This type of organization seemed to be growing; and to be arousing more general interest than almost any other. All except four of the villages had at least one civic group; the average for each village being 3.2. Among other things, these groups were largely responsible for the sixty-nine Chautauquas and fifty-four Lyceum courses found in the 140 villages. Although some villages had both of these courses, about a hundred communities had either one or the other, which gives some indication of the extent to which village centers use these cultural agencies. Their programs in turn stimulate the civic interest of the local people.

Characteristic activities initiated or supported by these civic groups included: those for village beautification; annual clean-ups; the purchase of fire apparatus; projects for street paving; better public health; and law enforcement.

One organization classing itself as civic has not been included in the figures given through lack of complete information—the Ku Klux Klan. The Klan was found to be most active in the Far West. Its activities in the villages studied were largely political. In most places its influence was admittedly on the wane; but definite effects were to be observed wherever it had been in power. It had split churches, separated families, initiated boycotts, permitted no neutrality; and consequently, in some villages, had ruined the business of "Main Street." In only one village did the net effect of the Klan's work, up to the time of the survey, appear to be more favorable than unfavorable.

The purely social groups occupy third place. To them belonged the people who dominated the life of the village. Cards, needle-work and tea could sum up the program of a majority of these groups, though some carried on a semblance of a study program. At times, teas and fairs were given for charitable purposes. The social clubs are cliquish; and their membership was found frequently to follow family or church lines. Though the mortality rate is rather high among these organizations, new ones are constantly formed. Four-fifths of those found had been organized since 1920. There were on the average four such clubs to the village. They had smaller memberships, but proportionately higher average attendance, than any other type of social organization. Nevertheless, more than one-tenth of the total female enrollment was in this sort of body. Only 2 per cent. of the male membership belonged to purely social groups.

Economic organizations included chambers of commerce, business men's associations, the fork-and-knife variety of booster organization, farm bureaus and the like. Apart from their regular meetings, the chief activity of these groups appeared to be the holding of picnics of various sorts, and "Days," such as Community Day, Dollar Day, Live Stock Day, Old Settlers' Day, Farmers' Day, Field Day, etc. Thirty-one inactive economic organizations were found. It was the chamber of commerce, or board of trade, with a salaried executive, even if only on part-time, that appeared to have the best chance of survival.

Among the patriotic groups, the American Legion and its auxiliary predominated. These organizations often had a useful social program, sponsored the Boy Scouts, and worked to secure and to maintain parks and community houses.

Sixth in the list of social organizations stood the educational groups that were discussed in Chapter IV. They made a small appeal to men; but one-twelfth of the membership of women's organizations, and one-sixth of the membership of the mixed groups, came under the category.

Athletic groups, probably because of high-school activities, included almost no young people. Golf, rod and gun, baseball, bowling, horse-show, and quoit clubs, predominated.

Seventy-six villages had musical organizations; and though few, they were important. They included a number of "Kid Bands." Village bands were often tax-supported. Sixty-five per

cent. of the villages had socio-religious groups; and those having them averaged two to a village.

Attendance.

Just as the small rural church commands more regular attendance from its members than a large one, so to a great degree the smaller the social organization, the higher its average attendance. Lodges, which are the largest organizations, with an average membership of about 100, draw only one-fourth of their members at any given meeting. Musical organizations, which have the smallest average membership, 28, make the best attendance record, more than four-fifths of their members being at the average meeting. Doubtless this record is caused by the knowledge that the absence of an individual is more likely to be noted, and more likely to inconvenience all who do come, in a musical organization than in any other. Purely social organizations are next to the smallest in average membership, averaging 34; but next to the highest in average attendance, with a record of 75 per cent. present at any average meeting. Perhaps self-preservation is the motive that keeps these groups high. Other groups that on the average secure the presence of more than half their members at meetings are the socio-religious, the athletic, and the educational. The economic and patriotic clubs can count on two-fifths, the civic on only three-tenths, of their membership.

The membership records of these various organizations are another indication of their hold. Nearly 160,000 adults were enrolled in the social organizations, 54 per cent. in the lodges. There were one-and-a-third times as many members in social organizations as there were adults in the villages. Of course, many people belonged to more than one club. In addition, 65,000 people belong to church groups other than the Sunday School.

Finances

The annual cost of these social organizations to the 140 villages was $800,000; more than a million dollars less than the cost of the churches.[1] This figure excludes, of course, the insur-

[1] If to the expenses of the church and social organizations be added those of the school clubs and athletic teams, the total is approximately three and one-fifth millions, or an average of seven dollars for every man, woman and child in these communities.

ance payments of lodge members, and also expense of new buildings. Musical organizations, with an average expense of nearly $20 a member a year, exceed the per capita expense of all other groups. The athletic group comes next, with $13.36, and is the only other type except the economic to exceed $10 per member. Lodges average $4.68 a member a year. Only educational and socio-religious agencies spend less than the lodges. All told, non-lodge organizations average $6.81.

Changing Fashions in Organizations

In addition to the active organizations that were found, more than a hundred were discovered that were inactive and facing natural death or disbandment. There was much testimony about still other clubs, or similar groups, that had once flourished but were now gone. It is apparent, therefore, that there is a great fluidity among social organizations.

One explanation of this is that fashions in social organizations change. The Red Cross, for instance, was almost unheard of in villages before the World War. Now it is frequently found; and more than once it had supplanted some other organization. The fork-and-knife clubs among men are also relatively new in villages; and are held to be responsible for some of the loss of interest in the lodges. The proportion of organizations in each of the nine groups started since 1920, gives some idea of their changing fashions. Less than 9 per cent. of the lodges, and most of these were in new communities of the Far West, had been organized since 1920. On the other hand, more than 70 per cent. of the athletic and socio-religious groups, and about 60 per cent. of the musical and economic organizations, began during the present decade. Nearly half the educational and social organizations, and about one-fourth of the civic and patriotic groups, came in the same category.

Buildings Owned by Organizations

The small number of new lodges, coupled with the low attendance they secure, might lead one to conclude that the fraternal order was a passing phenomenon; but before its death knell is sounded it must be remembered that, more successfully than any other type of organization, the lodge has succeeded in institutionalizing itself. It has done this partly through the death and ill-

ness benefits that it pays, and partly through securing ownership of its own quarters. In the 140 villages, there were 223 lodge halls, or buildings, that were the property of one or more lodges.[2] Many fraternal orders that lacked such quarters rented from the more fortunate lodges. The property investment is considerable; and the number of buildings involved is three times the number of buildings owned by all other types of organizations combined. Of course, most of these buildings were under the control of those six of the seventy-six varieties of lodges found that are the largest and most influential. These six will undoubtedly continue; many of the others may fail.

The factor of wealth is also associated with the presence of lodge buildings. Of the seventeen villages of the Middle West that had no lodge-owned building, nine belonged to that third of the villages whose household-wealth index was less than $4,000. Of the ten villages in this area in each of which from four to eight fraternal orders owned their own quarters, six belonged to that third of the villages whose wealth index was more than $5,000 for each household, and the other four to villages whose index was between $4,000 and $5,000 per household. Put another way, half the villages with an index of less than $4,000 had in them no lodge that owned its own quarters. Only one-fifth of the villages with an index above this amount were similarly situated.

Multiplicity of Social Organizations

Another possible reason for the mortality rate and change among social organizations lies in their very multiplicity. There were, on the average, 21.1 non-church and non-school organizations in each of these village communities. In addition, there were 2,259 church organizations in the white churches, an average of 16.1 for each village community. Even this figure does not include the nearly 1,200 Sunday schools with their approximately

[2] It is interesting to note that of the seventy-six non-lodge social organizations owning their own quarters, twenty-three belonged to the American Legion, more than belonged to any other group. There were seventeen fire halls under private control, and ten Grange halls. Eight community houses were found; and six women's clubs owned their own quarters. In addition there were sixteen buildings or parts of buildings, the use of which justified their characterization as community houses, that were under the control of the schools or the municipal government. Nearly half the villages had parks, some of which included playground features, and about two-thirds of which contained accommodations for tourists. All but a few of these parks were municipally owned and controlled.

10,000 separate classes; nor does it include the 847 athletic and social organizations connected with the schools. The following remark of a leader, explaining the failure of a Parent-Teacher Association, sums up the situation: "You see, there are two and three organizations meeting every night in the week. There just can't be another organization until we get more nights in a week."

The organized social life of villages is characterized by considerable competition for the leisure time of the people; by a marked degree of overlapping of effort; by a lack of any comprehensive plan for caring for all the chief social needs of the community. Thus in many villages separate lodges rented from three to six different halls; but few villages had a community house with a few rooms in it for lodges. In one village four organizations contended for the privilege of furnishing a hot lunch to school children; and in many villages charitable work was carried on by from six to eight, and sometimes by from ten to fifteen, different agencies without any effort at coördination.

If any region has measurably escaped this excess of organization, it is the South, which had only half as many organizations to the village as the average for the 140, and only about one-third as many as the Far West. More of the southern organizations, too, were under state auspices, such as the Four H clubs and Farm Bureau units, than those elsewhere. This meant some degree of supervision from salaried executives. No instance was found in this study of a functioning community council that coördinated the life and activity of the social groups and organizations, though some villages had had coördination of the kind during the World War. These councils lapsed after the war; because the leaders did not see the possibilities for carrying over the idea into peace time. Occasionally, in villages having few and non-overlapping organizations, well-coördinated work was carried on by consultation and agreement rather than by a formal council. The best example of this was in the South.

It is possible that the overplus of organizations accounted for the relatively small amount of commercialized recreations in villages. There were dance halls in 82 of the places studied. One or two pool rooms and billiard halls per community, and in 120 villages moving-picture houses and other commercialized recreations are named. The type of picture shown did not vary greatly. Wild West topics predominated in all four regions. Managers

complained that better pictures did not pay; that when they were presented those who desired them did not support them. A few theaters, by clever advertising and coöperation with the school, and some social organizations were meeting successfully the demand for good pictures. Attendance was everywhere reported to be lower than it had been from two to five years before. This was especially so in regions where the agricultural depression was severe; and is perhaps partly to be explained in other sections by the competition of urban theaters so readily accessible by automobile or bus.

RECREATION AND THE YOUNGER GENERATION

One of the interesting things about the social life of villages is the apparent difference in attitude between minors and adults in regard to the organized activities. This was discovered through the house-to-house censuses, in which the people were asked to name what they liked to do most in their leisure time. The adults rarely mentioned the formalized activities. Instead, reading, resting, visiting, and automobiling, ranked high. Among the young people, the organized activities led. Doubtless this is because of their interest in athletics. This attitude of the young people was also noted among the more than 2,000 high-school students who were asked to name their three favorite recreations. Among the boys, swimming, and among the girls, reading and swimming, were the only unorganized activities that ranked among the leading choices.

Excluding the church and school organizations, the former negligible, only 7 per cent. of the membership of the social organizations of the communities were minors, although boys and girls from ten to twenty make up one-fifth of the population of these villages. The lavish provision for organized social life has been by adults for adults. This helps to explain why so many high-school students are planning to leave their home town (see Chapter III). For those who have left high school, or who have not attended it, and for all the young people in vacation time, there was "nothing doing" in the average village—nothing, that is, except criticism. For the older people in villages were convinced that the youth were neither what they used to be, nor what they ought to be to win the approval of the community. Here

and there a school or other institution, or an individual, was found that was attempting to solve the problem. One such instance is given in the story of Dodgetown in Part II. The solution of this problem, and of others, depends to a considerable degree on leadership. "Lack of leadership" was the reason offered times without number for the failure of some organizations, and even of economic enterprises.

LEADERSHIP

An effort was made to study the factor of leadership. Field workers asked every one interviewed to name the community leaders, the people without whose approval a new venture rarely succeeded, whose backing increased the chance of success. It was found that it was relatively easy to arrive at a consensus of opinion. Though the number varied widely, on the average ten people in each village, three to each 1,000 of population in the total community, and three-fourths of them men, were named above all others. It was possible also to secure certain facts about these people, such as place of birth, length of residence and occupation. It was also possible to see when the control of a village was concentrated in a small group, or even in one man, or when leadership was largely within or largely without the churches, or when it was diffused or associated with a high degree of specialization according to lines of activity. It was also possible to discover conflicts between groups of leaders, conspicuously between the new and the native resident, between the young and the old. Upon the outcome of some of these conflicts undoubtedly depended the future course a given village was to take. These were obvious manifestations, important but distinctly superficial. But these facts did not answer other pertinent queries about leadership. They did not tell why leaders in one village were "progressive" while in another all their efforts were put forth to maintain the *status quo*. No scale could be devised within the scope of this investigation to evaluate leadership, to analyze its quality, or even to isolate the factors that accounted for the leadership attributed to the individual; and no previously devised methodology to do this was ready at hand. Leadership was evidently a factor of vital importance in these villages; but to study it in any precise way is a task for the future.

But though leadership is an important factor in determining the direction the life of a community shall take, it does not seem greatly to affect the quantity of the organized expression of that life. This analysis has shown a multiplicity of organization, a maze of machinery, quite startling to the one whose impressions of the social life of villages was formed in the days of coal oil illumination, when a lodge or two and the Ladies' Aid reigned supreme in the field of social life. Social life in villages may still be far from ideal. It is restless and full of action, even though the action be but the loyal repetition of an established routine; but its interests and activities are far more various and appealing than of old.

References

The following references are made to other books in this series for more detailed discussion of subjects treated in this chapter.

American Agricultural Villages, Chapter II (regarding structure of village) and Chapter VII.

Descriptions of social life are to be found in the studies of individual villages in Part II, especially those of Lincoln, Alford and Tuckerton.

PART II
STUDIES OF INDIVIDUAL VILLAGES

PART II: STUDIES OF INDIVIDUAL VILLAGES

The part of this book that follows is devoted exclusively to studies of particular villages. These are based upon the survey schedules for each village chosen, the field workers' reports written at the conclusion of the field survey of each village, and collateral material, such as local newspapers, histories, organizational reports and the like, secured by the field workers. All names used are fictitious.

The individual studies are being made available at the request of many persons who have had knowledge of the procedure and results of the American Village Study. It is felt that they can be used for many purposes, as, for example, by students assigned to the task of interpreting survey results, or of building a program for a particular village, or for some organization or interest within the village. For this reason most of the interpretations of the data, and all suggestions made by field workers, have been omitted except in the last study. The aim has been to present the studies without comment for what they may be worth.

The villages selected are not to be deemed "typical" of the regions in which they are located. There is no such thing as a typical village. Those of each region are, however, fairly representative of the general run of villages studied in that region.

The form of presentation is not the same in all of these studies, although facts relating to certain topics will be found in each. The different cases are treated differently because the eight villages were selected for their distinctive characteristics, or for other special reasons. Thus Alford, an old eastern village, was chosen partly because a very good house-to-house census had been made there. Dodgetown and Wesson illustrate the old and the new in southern agriculture. Palestine and Stalkton represent contrasts within the Corn Belt. Lincoln furnishes a catalogue, and a somewhat detailed description, of some of the im-

portant organizations found also in all the other villages. Tuckerton represents the Pacific Coast.

The last of these studies differs from the others. In addition to the usual field study, much time was spent in historical research. Though important municipal and school records had been destroyed by fire, it was possible to secure access to the census records of this village from the time of its incorporation in 1860 to and including 1920. This is, therefore, a historical study of an agricultural village.

I

ALFORD

An Old Eastern Village

The small farmers' village of Alford[1] is situated near the boundary between New York and Pennsylvania. It lies beside a navigable river, in a narrow valley among steep hills. Most of the houses are upon five converging roads and a few cross streets. At the meeting point of the roads is a bandstand in a tiny park; and close by, in strictly utilitarian brick buildings, are the stores, the bank, and the hotel. The houses and the four churches are trimly painted, and the grass about them is kept short.

This village is the center for a farming district with an area of about forty square miles. The larger community does not extend far along the river and the railroad, because Alford's rival, Bridgeton, is only a short distance up the valley, and two smaller centers, Babylon and Wilkesville, are not far away in the opposite direction; but it stretches off six or eight miles each way from the river, and includes parts of five townships in two counties.

Between Alford and Marley, the county seat, are high hills, and the road is poor; while the journey by railway is roundabout, involving a change of cars and consequent delay. For their Sunday clothes Alford people sometimes go by bus or train to Bentville, a small city about twenty-eight miles away; but for the most part they experience a considerable degree of rural isolation. In most respects the place is typical of many small Middle Atlantic communities where moderate prosperity is based upon specialized farming.

HISTORY

Alford was first settled, a few years after the Revolutionary War, by families from Vermont, Connecticut, and Massachusetts. It passed through the stages of development usual in that day.

[1] The survey of Alford was made by Miss Elizabeth R. Hooker and Miss Ruth E. Romig. Miss Hooker is the author of this study.

First came the long struggle to overcome the wilderness. Afterwards for a considerable period the place was nearly self-sufficient, producing its own food, clothing, wagons, horseshoes and butter-tubs. Later, after being connected with the outer world by roads and railways, it lived by general farming, marketing grain and other products, and received from without ginghams, plows, and newspapers. To-day it raises specialized products, especially milk, eggs, potatoes and tomatoes.

Politically, the territory now called Alford was for more than sixty years a part of the township of Bridgeton. In 1857, after what the county history calls "a somewhat bitter feud," it was made a separate township. Because the name Bridgeton began with a B, the new political division chose a name beginning with A. The rivalry then manifested is still keen to-day. In 1874 the two school districts within which lay the village united. In 1891 the village of Alford was incorporated.

The recent history of the place is mainly concerned, from the local point of view, with public improvements. Most of these have been put across by some one of the three political units: the township, the union school district, and the incorporated village. The improvements have included a bridge; a school building; public water works affording the incorporated village "the best water in the state"; eleven miles of hard-surfaced roads outside the incorporation, besides well-constructed streets with sidewalks for a great part of the village itself; and, finally, a new fire truck which was purchased during the summer of the survey. The telephone situation is somewhat characteristic. There are several coöperative companies, one of them formed as long ago as 1902; and these, loosely combined, now afford what the local people characterize as the worst telephone service in the United States.

THE PEOPLE

In the Village

The number of people living in the village has not greatly changed in the past forty years, the last five Census figures being 784, 683, 733, 739 and 782. Though the figure for 1920 is virtually as high as the one for 1880, a household survey conducted by the Institute in 1923 showed that the population had again somewhat declined.

The village people are unusually homogeneous. The Census found only eleven foreign-born persons, and no colored people, so that the proportion of native whites was unusually high; and the proportion having both parents American was 92.1 per cent., ten points higher than for the thirty-four Middle Atlantic villages. Ninety per cent. of the villagers, moreover, were born in the state; and 80 per cent. were the children of mothers born in the state. On the other hand, only about a fourth of the residents, including children, were born either in the village itself or in the country near-by. This proportion is smaller than for Parker—another farming village in the same state where also the Institute conducted a household survey—for which the proportion of villagers born in the community was 40 per cent.

The villagers include an unusually high proportion of old men and old women. In the United States as a whole, for which the effect of shifts of population is in great measure eliminated, the persons of sixty-five years and over form less than 2 per cent. of the population. Villages in general have a much higher proportion of people of sixty-five years and over, the figure for the Middle Atlantic villages being 13.5 per cent. For Alford the proportion is higher still, being 19.1 per cent. The part of the population of Alford village that is formed by persons from fifty to sixty is considerably exceeded by that formed by persons from sixty to seventy years of age, and—what is still more surprising—it is slightly exceeded by that formed by persons of seventy and over. One-third of the heads of households are sixty-five years of age or older; and every third person is either a widow or a widower.

Young persons under thirty, on the other hand, are relatively few; and there is an unusually high proportion of married men and even of married women. The young of both sexes are seeking elsewhere the means of livelihood they cannot find in Alford.

The only age-group that forms as large a proportion of the total population as do persons from sixty to seventy and persons of seventy and over, is the group consisting of persons from thirty to forty, which is relatively as large as in the United States as a whole. People in early middle life have stayed in Alford or have moved to it. As will be seen later, a new industry provided openings in 1919. Eight families, with adults presumably belonging to this age-group, gave on the household

cards as reasons for their presence in the village, the desire to put their children in the village school.

The women of Alford outnumber the men, as is usual in villages; but there are here 91.2 men to every one hundred women, slightly more than three men in excess of the average for the thirty-four villages in the same region. Forty-seven households, that is, nearly one-fifth of the total number, have a woman as head.

The population is shifting. Nearly three-fourths of the villagers have come to Alford from somewhere else. Only a fifth of the families have lived in their present homes for as many as fifteen years; and more than half have moved into them within less than five years. Many young people go away. In view of this fact it is not surprising that the number of persons per household is only 3.2, as compared with 5.1 for the United States as a whole.

In the Country

Most of the people in the country part of Alford are native Americans, the household survey having found only eight foreign-born; but only one-sixth were born in their township, a proportion less than half that found in Parker. The household survey cards show that young persons have gone from as many as forty farms, and the number of individuals to a family, though somewhat higher than in the village, is only 3.8; nevertheless minors form over one-third of the country population, while they form only a fourth of the village population. Old people are relatively less numerous than in the village.

In the country, too, the population is shifting, but somewhat less than in the village, as is shown by the fact that nearly a third of the families have been in their present homes at least fifteen years, and an eighth of them thirty-five years or longer. The population of three of the four townships in which virtually the entire country community lies is shown by Census figures to have declined steadily for thirty years, and for twenty years in the other one.

FARMING

Alford has 218 farms, of which twenty-two are within the incorporated limits of the village. Nearly half of the families,

and more than half of the inhabitants of the community, actually live on farms. Moreover, were it not for the farmers' money, the storekeepers, the carpenters, the doctors, and so on, could not make a living. Upon the prosperity of the farmers depends the prosperity of nine-tenths of the households, that is, of all except those of fifty men employed by a single factory.

The farms are of two kinds. Those in the valleys have a comparatively level surface and rich, alluvial soil; and their shipping points are near and accessible over good roads. The hill farms, which are twice as numerous, have a coarser soil of glacial origin, with hardpan not far below the surface; their sloping contours make cultivation difficult; produce has to be carried farther, and over worse roads, to be shipped. To make a living, the hill farmer has to have a larger farm and more help; and he is therefore more seriously handicapped than the valley farmer by the scarcity of farm labor and by the high wages of the laborers. Naturally the valley farms are the more prosperous.

Since Alford lies within the area from which New York City draws its high-priced milk, the farmers devote most of their attention to dairying. For this, natural conditions are favorable. Green, sloping pastures are provided with brooks, and with scattered trees; grain, hay, and fodder corn are grown with ease; and the rainfall is abundant and well distributed. A good many farmers raise eggs. Other important special products are cabbages and tomatoes.

The output of the farms is considerable. From 40,000 to 80,000 quarts of milk according to season are produced daily. Part of this is sent to New York as pasteurized milk, cream or buttermilk; and the rest is converted into dry milk or condensed milk. Daily, from March through September, from 900 to 1,500 dozen eggs are sent to New York by express. In good years a considerable number of carloads of cabbages and of potatoes are shipped in the fall.

The farms look prosperous. Buildings are well painted and in good repair; most of the barns are large and modern; and the fields and pastures are evidently in good condition. About half the farms have running water. Seventy farms own autos; about thirty-five have trucks; several use milking machines; and ten, all on valley farms, have tractors.

The farmers are developing a spirit of coöperation. They

have an active local Farm Bureau, with sixty-seven members; and this takes advantage of the county organization's lectures, which are well attended in Alford, and of its help in seed-testing, cow-testing, and in demonstrations. Local farmers to the number of 125 belong to the Dairymen's League Coöperative Association; and the "non-poolers" are condemned by public opinion as selfish.

The farmers of Alford, in short, have productive farms, a steady market, fairly comfortable homes, an increasing tendency to use progressive methods, and a growing sense of solidarity. Moreover, partly because New York City is so near, they were affected comparatively little by war and post-war conditions. The banker says they hold three-fourths of the number of bank accounts and three-fourths of the total amount of the bank deposits; and that they do not often apply to the bank for loans. On the whole, as farmers go in these days, they would seem to be comparatively well off.

But they consider themselves the reverse of fortunate. One of the leaders among them declared that he "had been farming for twenty years and had never found it pay yet!" The cabbages have suffered from stem rot, resulting from infected seed; the potatoes, especially in recent wet seasons, have been ruined by blight; and even when crops have been good, the farmers have not yet felt that they had an adequate return for their labor. *A survey by Cornell University of eighty-three dairy farms in a section near by, where the county agent reported conditions to be similar to those in Alford, found that in the year ending April 30, 1922, the average excess of receipts over expenditures was only $469; and that if interest on investment were deducted, the average labor income would be minus $179. Many hill farms in the Alford community, where it has proved hard to make enough to live and pay taxes, now lie vacant and uncultivated; not a few farms are mortgaged; and a considerable number of vigorous men have abandoned farming for some other occupation.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Alford has two milk stations. One, a branch of a dry-milk factory at Bridgeton, handles the milk of the members of the Dairymen's League Coöperative Association; and the other, owned by the Clover Farms Company, handles that of the inde-

pendent farmers, sending more or less of it, according to seasonal supply and demand, to New York City, and condensing the surplus. There are three small mills, a saw mill, a feed mill, and a cider mill frankly reported to make hard cider. A new industry, not connected with farming, has recently been introduced. This concern, the Sanca Film Company, produces daily from one and a half to three tons of "semi-fluid basic film," which is sent by truck to Bentville for further elaboration.

Twenty-one retail merchants include dealers in all the kinds of supplies needed by villagers and by farmers. Two stores sell general merchandise; but most of them deal in specialized lines of goods. Of many kinds of stores there are two each; two drug stores, two candy stores, and so on. One of the several groceries is a chain store.

Alford villagers are in general what they consider comfortably well off; but they are not rich. The average valuation of local property per household is $3,106, while that for small villages in the Middle West was found by the Institute to be $3,912. The per capita valuation for Alford is $985; for small Middle Western villages, it was found to be $1,092. Alford has no leisure class: among the men from twenty to sixty-five years of age, the Census found in 1920 only five that were not at work and earning money. This proportion, 2.3 per cent., is less than half as high as that for the thirty-four Middle Atlantic villages; namely, 6.6 per cent. More significant still, considerably more than half the men of sixty-five and over, 57.5 per cent., were still what the Census calls "gainfully employed"; this proportion being nearer that for ten small cities in the same region than that for the thirty-four villages.

It is true that three-fourths of the families own the houses in which they live; but in estimating the significance of this fact, it is necessary to take several things into consideration. It is hard to find a house to rent: for a long time, up to a few years ago, no houses were built, and those to let were almost never available; so that to have a roof over their heads, people had to buy. Houses are comparatively cheap. Transfers of property are so common that this small village has two real estate agents. And more than a fourth of the houses owned are mortgaged.

If, however, the average income is comparatively small, several considerations combine to increase its power to purchase

what Alford people want. Expenses are low. Almost every family had a vegetable garden, though comparatively few raised flowers. There is no striking inequality in wealth. And the standard of what is respectable is adjusted to the circumstances of the people, as is illustrated by the following remark by a thoughtful resident: "Most of us can't afford both a furnace and an automobile. But nobody minds stoves. So we buy Fords." A careful count showed that about one in ten village houses had furnaces, while 45 per cent. of the families had at least one automobile.

RELATIONS BETWEEN VILLAGERS AND FARMERS

Village and country people like and trust each other. Some of the villagers, including four of the town and village officials, formerly lived on farms. Many of them own farm property. Others have relatives in the country. Moreover, the village is small; there is no marked contrast in degree of prosperity between villagers and farmers; and of the few industries all but one—and that one of very recent introduction—are closely related to agriculture. The farmers do not complain, as they do in so many villages, that the storekeepers do not treat them fairly. Indeed, a project to buy feed and fertilizer coöperatively was abandoned because the farmers trusted the man who runs the local grist mill and feed store. In almost all the village organizations the country people are well represented. The Home Bureau, on the other hand, draws a majority of its members from the village, none of them being far enough removed from the farm to have lost interest in rural domestic topics; and the conversation at a "thimble party" is apt to drift to such themes as chicken-raising and milking machines. A full third of the farm papers taken in the community, too, go to families living in the village.

HEALTH

Good health is the rule. This is owing in part to the situation in a breezy upland country of open spaces and hills, to the outdoor occupations of many in the community, and to the farm origin of many others. Moreover, people are awake to the importance of safeguarding the public health. Both village and

town have health officers, and the children of the village school are examined regularly. The sources of the milk supply are also inspected two or three times a year. The village water is so pure that since its installation not a single case of typhoid has originated in the village. In the country there are occasional cases of other diseases conveyed through impure water. Although the only sewers are a few short ones connecting certain of the larger buildings, such as the schoolhouse, with the river, the sloping surfaces and gravelly subsoil render them less necessary. Epidemics are not frequent; and when they occur, the cases are few and light.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

People do not care enough for their local government to take much trouble about it. A single list of candidates for office is chosen at a caucus, at which a good attendance is twelve. The national party names are not used. Sometimes voters defeat a regular candidate by writing another name on the ballot, but this happens rarely. Only a small proportion of the voters cast their ballots. On township issues, out of 1,114 registered voters only 300 to 400 vote at the primaries and only about 600 at the final elections. On village issues, only forty or fifty votes are usually cast, even on appropriations. It is hard to get measures adopted. This is particularly true in regard to improvements involving the appropriation of money, which must often be brought up at several elections before they are passed, as they usually are in the end.

It is hard, too, to persuade people to accept office. Some say, "There's no money in it." A man willing to serve is sometimes elected for a number of terms running. The present town clerk has served for forty years; and the village clerk before the present one also had a long period of office. Several of the present officials are efficient public servants.

Laws and ordinances are not strictly enforced. An ordinance against speeding within the incorporated limits was passed in 1919; but since the first season residents have violated it with impunity, only strangers being arrested. There is much complaint that prohibition is not enforced. But the justice of the peace said that there is now one intoxicated person where before

prohibition there were forty; and prayer-meetings are no longer omitted during fair week, as was done formerly because the presence of drunken men on the street made it unpleasant for women to be out alone after dark.

Standards of conduct are made effective less through the machinery of local government than through the direct action of public opinion. For example, when dances in the dance hall on the fair grounds, which used to be frequent throughout the year, were allowed to degenerate, many people stopped coming; and receipts fell off to such an extent that the place was closed and has since failed to find a lessee.

The village tax rate for the year preceding the survey was $17.48 per $1,000, and the total expenditures were $9,254.16. Of this sum, more than two-thirds was spent on roads; and of the remainder more than $1,000 was spent in lighting the streets; other sums went to pay the expenses of the Citizens' Band and of the hose company, and the rest was devoted to expenses of administration.

THE VILLAGE SCHOOL

Alford people rate high the importance of a good school. Upon the "High School" in the village, which includes both elementary and high-school grades, the union school district expended in the year preceding the survey $11,000 raised by taxation, besides an additional amount received in tuition fees for pupils from outside the district. The schoolhouse, bonds for which were voted in 1910 after several unsuccessful efforts, is a brick building fairly modern in construction, sanitary and in good condition. There is no gymnasium. In the third story there is an auditorium seating 450 persons.

The salaries paid are not high; grade teachers receive from $950 to $1,000, and those in the high school, not considering the principal, about $1,200. Most of the high-school teachers are college graduates without previous experience in teaching; they are said to be well chosen, and to be generous with help given the students in extra-curriculum activities.

The total enrollment the year of the survey was 253—149 in the elementary school and 104 in the high school. Of the total, a minority were from the incorporated village. The pro-

portion of the children and young people that were enrolled in schools in 1920 was 77.6 per cent., a figure somewhat higher than that for the thirty-four Middle Atlantic villages, 75.1 per cent., and considerably higher than that for ten cities in the same area, 69.6 per cent. The high school holds the pupils well till they are sixteen; after that age they fall out more rapidly, so that while there were twenty-eight freshmen in the year of the survey, there were only ten seniors.

Of the large number of students from outside the village, some are elementary pupils from the two districts that contract with the village school. Other students, especially of high-school grade, come from all parts of the country community; many more as far as twelve miles, from places without high schools. This service to a wide area is accompanied by a comparatively low ratio of attendance to enrollment; namely, 71.3 per cent.

For those intending to be farmers the school provides an excellent four-year course in agriculture, including instruction on poultry and animal husbandry, on farm crops, on fruit growing, on soils and fertilizers, on farm machinery and on farm management. The course is in charge of the principal, who has had special training in the teaching of agriculture. He is assisted by an advisory board consisting of four farmers and one mechanic. Enrolled in this course in the year of the survey were twenty-four students, including four seniors, who were graduated. Within a few years the local appropriation for the course has been increased by $1,500.

With a view to the development of character, the honor system is in use and considerable freedom is allowed. To the same end, students are given a share in the discipline of the school: an executive committee consisting of two representatives from each class consults concerning the general welfare; and during the noon hour the school building is under the charge of monitors from the senior class. In the civics course, special attention is given to community civics; and in farm management the seniors in the agricultural course are given instruction regarding various forms of coöperative action among farmers.

Further development of the students is provided for by a school orchestra trained at the expense of the school, by school dramatics, rhetoricals and debates, and varied social activities.

Some of the special events are open to the public. In these

and other ways the school forms a center of community life. In its auditoriums are held such larger meetings as the lectures of the Farm Bureau and the meetings of the Home Bureau and of the Dairymen's League Coöperative Association. For twenty-five years, moreover, the school has sponsored a lyceum course, for which about 500 tickets are sold each year. This course includes one lecture, a play, two or three concerts, and a program by an entertainer.

COUNTRY SCHOOLS

Scattered over the outlying parts of the community in four different towns are ten rural schools, with an average enrollment of fourteen. These schools are neither better nor worse than the common run of such schools throughout the state. The schoolhouses are little one-room buildings, heated with unjacketed stoves, lighted by windows on two, or at the most three, sides. They are usually provided with non-adjustable double desks and with very little else in the way of equipment. The teachers are paid an average salary of a little more than $800. Two districts, as has been said, send their children to the village school; and the chief obstacle to consolidations, according to the school superintendent, is the problem of transportation.

CHURCHES

Alford has five churches, all Protestant. Four are in the village and one is at North Alford. This corresponds to three churches to one thousand inhabitants, a ratio considered far too high by religious leaders, though no higher than the average for the communities of the 140 villages studied by the Institute. The five churches have 489 resident members, of whom 455 are reasonably active. Seventy new members, rather more than half coming by confession of faith, were received in the year preceding the survey; and the net gain for that year was forty-five.

The five church buildings, with another at Alford Springs which is used for Baptist preaching services, though there is no church organization there, have a combined valuation of $27,500. Taking into account three parsonages and other property, the valuation of the combined church plants is $39,300. In the year

preceding the survey these churches spent for all purposes $9,768.68, several hundred dollars more than the village government. This corresponds to $19.98 per resident church-member, more than the average for the region, as is usual in smaller places. The sum devoted to local church expenditures was equivalent to $4.10 for every man, woman and child in the larger community, a sum above the average for the region, which was $3.44.

There are four ministers, of whom three are resident in the village, the fourth living a few miles away in Bridgeton, where he has another church. The three resident ministers give their whole time to service within the community, one having a village and a country church, and the other two having only a village church but conducting preaching services, more or less frequently, at points in the country.

Connected with the churches are four Sunday schools with a total enrollment of 528; four ladies' aid societies, five missionary societies, three young people's societies, and miscellaneous groups that bring the total number of subsidiary organizations up to eighteen.

The contribution of these churches to missionary and benevolent objects outside the community was, in the year before the survey, about $2,504.39, which is slightly more than one-fourth of their total expenditure. In this one respect, the Alford churches rank below the village churches of the 140 villages, which devote to outside causes one-third of their income. In other respects the figures given above compare favorably with the averages for churches in the villages of the same region. In short, the churches of Alford are following the generally accepted routine.

Less than one-third, 31.5 per cent., of villagers ten years of age and older are enrolled in the local churches, although for the Middle Atlantic villages the proportion was 47.6 per cent. The household survey showed that many people belong to churches elsewhere, not having been induced to identify themselves with any local church. Even so, however, only 40 per cent. of all the people of the village and country combined claimed to be church-members; which is about the average for the United States as a whole, although in Parker the proportion was 60 per cent. Of the non-church-members, the proportion claiming adherence to one of the churches, at least admitting a

preference for one of them, was also decidedly lower than in Parker. Leaving out of account the very few Roman Catholics, more than a fifth of the inhabitants of the Alford community are entirely untouched by the churches; but in Parker the unchurched form only about half as high a proportion, 11 per cent. Again, less than 50 per cent. of the children and young people of Alford are enrolled in Sunday school; and average attendance is only 47 per cent. of enrollment, a ratio unusually low even for Sunday schools. The combined average attendance at the five principal Sunday preaching services is only 280, or one-sixth of the number of inhabitants; and the average number of services attended per month per inhabitant is 1.9.

The churches make an unequal appeal to different elements of the population. They reach more village people than country people. Only 36.4 per cent. of the country people claimed church-membership through the household cards, as against 45.7 per cent. of the villagers; and the proportion of the people that are quite untouched by the churches, which in the village is 18.2 per cent., is in the country 25.4 per cent. Of the thirty-eight persons who joined the church by confession of faith in the year preceding the survey, twenty-seven were from the village, and only eleven from the country, though the country people are the more numerous. Of the 221 church workers, including officers, teachers, and so on, three-fourths are villagers. Of village children and young people, two in every three are in Sunday school; of those in the country, only two in every five.

The churches, moreover, appeal to the women more effectively than to the men. The proportion of the village females of ten years of age and over that are enrolled in the local churches, 38.6 per cent., is half again as high as that of the village males of corresponding age, 23.6 per cent., the disproportion being considerably greater than in the Middle Atlantic villages in general. Of the church workers, three-fourths are women. One in every three women is enrolled in Sunday school, but only one in six of the men. And nearly twice as many men as women are entirely outside the influence of the churches.

The churches of Alford, again, reach a larger proportion of the adults than of the young people. Of the boys and young men, as well as of the girls and young women, a proportion far lower than in the Middle Atlantic villages in general are mem-

bers of the churches. There are in Alford three young people's societies, so-called; but at a typical service, at which the Lord was thanked for "this young people's meeting," only one of those present was young. Half of the resident church-members are forty-five years or over.

The churches had failed to establish any contact with a large proportion of the people. Over one-fifth of the inhabitants were found by the household survey to hold themselves entirely aloof from any church. Only half the minors attended Sunday school. A considerable number of persons, members of churches elsewhere, had not joined any local church; and many moral and public-spirited individuals were not church-members. A public official of the village, himself a church worker, expressed the belief that the churches had no real hold upon two-thirds of the people.

The church workers themselves are not satisfied with the state of their churches: they see deficiencies, and are groping for better things. They think, for example, that they have too many churches. Not long ago the federation of two of these was under consideration; but the project was abandoned.

On the other hand, from a religious point of view, the people are fairly homogeneous. They are almost all Protestant, less than 2 per cent. of the population being Roman Catholic. Country folk and villagers are combined in all the village churches. There are no social cleavages among the churches. If the Baptists are more conservative than the members of other churches, they make their stand on the choice of amusements rather than on theological dogmas.

The churches act together in many ways. This is illustrated by the way they ring the three church bells. First there are two strokes from the Baptist bell, then two from the Presbyterian, then two from the Methodist, and so on in rotation. The churches hold regular union services. At one of these the best features of all the separate children's day services were repeated. Others consisted of stereopticon lectures presenting the missions of the different denominations. The four churches in coöperation conduct and support a graded course of week-day religious education, in which 98 per cent. of the children in the village elementary grades were enrolled in the year of the survey. Textbooks were used, examinations were held, and marks were given.

The following year the course was to be extended to the first year of the high school.

Besides the schools and the churches with their auxiliary societies, Alford has twenty-two other social organizations. Many of these groups have a double function: first, to afford their own members social intercourse and some special advantage, such as self-improvement of a certain kind; and, secondly, to render service of some sort to the community. The Home Bureau, besides affording its members instruction in rural domestic crafts, provides a school lunch and many public entertainments; the Farm Bureau makes arrangements for public lectures on agricultural topics; the Red Cross has provided a course in home nursing; the rod and gun club stocks woods with pheasants and streams with trout; the hose company and the Citizens' Bank make their obvious contributions; the G.A.R. takes care of the Decoration Day celebration; the Rebeccas have held a children's night; and the Stars have given a play to raise funds for school dramatics. At least eight societies do more or less in the way of local relief. A few organizations, such as two cemetery associations, one in the village and one at North Alford, exist only to perform a particular service.

These organizations grew up independently of one another, some having been fostered by a national organization and others having arisen out of a local need; and they act to-day in complete independence. If one group sees a loose end in the tangle of public problems, it pulls on that end. From this lack of coördination it naturally follows that the privilege of membership in social organizations is unevenly distributed. The element most abundantly provided with social groups consists of the women, who have nine secular organizations and ten connected with the churches, which altogether have a total membership of 809. If these memberships were evenly distributed, every woman in the community would be a member of one club, and nearly every other woman would belong to two. As a matter of fact, a good many women are members of a lodge, a ladies' aid society, a missionary society, the W.C.T.U. or the Home Bureau, and either the Woman's Relief Corps or the Auxiliary of the Legion. Some belong also to the D.A.R. or to a book club, or to both. One woman belongs to seven different groups. Thus part of the women belong to anywhere from four to seven organizations,

while many do not belong to any social group. Men are also well provided with social organizations; not taking into account lodges primarily for women, they have eight that serve many different interests, and that have a total enrollment of 497. But some of the men, too, belong to several groups, and others to none at all.

Most of the social organizations are for adults. Twenty-two boys, to be sure, belong to one or the other of two Scout troops and six girls have an organized Sunday-school class. The young people still in school have in term-time a few school organizations and many informal social contacts; and there are three church young people's societies, such as they are. But the young people outside of school, and all the young people in summer, are almost without organized social activities.

The overlapping of unrelated activities results in a waste of resources and of effort. Five to eight societies independently offer relief to each of the three or four families that in any winter require such help. It is admittedly questionable whether the Ames baby wore out all the tiny garments provided for it; and a farm family that was burned out a few months before the survey received from subscriptions raised by several different groups, the total sum of $2,000.

The social groups, in spite of their number, fail to serve all human interests. Except for the band, which has only thirteen members, and the school orchestra, there is no group designed to gratify any intellectual or esthetic taste; that is, there is no literary society—the book clubs having for their only function the purchase and circulation of popular novels—no dramatic club, debating society, or the like. Despite the natural opportunities for recreation, opportunity for enjoying outdoor sports is offered to those outside the school only by the baseball team, which in the nature of the case is small.

Because of the lack of coöperation among them, the social organizations fail to meet certain well-recognized local needs. For example, the organizations among them own, rent or borrow seven different secular halls; yet Alford has uses for a hall that cannot be met by any of these. It has no hall suitable for large dances. In the only large one, that in the third story of the school, dancing is forbidden, because it is believed it would endanger the building. Consequently the young people go to neigh-

boring communities and frequent commercial dance halls where the conditions are believed by conscientious parents to be demoralizing. There is no hall well adapted to plays, the school hall having too small a stage. There is no town hall, so that the village board meets in the little building that contains the jail. A desire for a hall, or for a community house containing a hall, was expressed on fifty-four household cards; and toward the cost of a hall the Home Bureau has raised $2,200. Other recognized needs of which the household cards bear evidence are a library, mentioned on twenty-two cards, and a playground, suggested on seventeen. These desired advantages the people have no means of obtaining, because they possess no machinery for united action.

Everybody agreed that whatever had been accomplished in the community, whether through the social organizations, through the town and village governments, or in connection with the school, had been initiated and carried through by individual leaders. These men and women were comparatively young, despite the unusually high proportion of old persons in the village; in fact, only one of them was more than forty-five years of age. Though all were Americans, only one had been born in the community. All were described by their neighbors as men and women of high character. All except one were church-members.

Alford has no library, except a small one connected with the school. The local paper consists almost entirely of "boiler plate" and neighborhood notes; and the *Bentville Daily,* which reaches two-thirds of the families both in the village and in the country, is the usual small-city sheet, devoted almost exclusively to local news. Little interest is shown in the affairs of the world outside. Magazines reach more than a third of the families; but periodicals of high grade go only to a small proportion of the families. Those taken by most households consist chiefly of farm journals, woman's magazines, and magazines of popular fiction. The semi-weekly moving pictures are cheap melodramas, dealing sometimes with city life, sometimes with cowboy plots, the latter being preferred. Lectures, except the one in the Lyceum course and official presentations of various good causes at the churches, are chiefly on topics connected with farming. In the way of music, there are weekly outdoor concerts by the Citizens' Band in summer, and occasional concerts during the winter, one by this band and others in the Lyceum course. Neither the men's Bible classes nor

the young people's societies afford opportunity for the frank discussion of vital issues. The character of the meetings of organized groups, as has been said, is not intellectual but social. Taking everything together, there is little outside of vocational information to stimulate impersonal intellectual activity.

The favorite ways of spending leisure time are going to meetings, taking automobile rides in family groups, and visiting. There are so few people that they all know one another, see a great deal of one another, and are intimately acquainted with one another's affairs. In the absence of impersonal interests, conversation deals largely with neighborhood news. This gossip, even in the presence of strangers, is not invariably kind, and it is always passing judgments based on rigid standards of morals, of manners and of styles. Jennie Elmer stayed away from church for months because she would not go in year-before-last's hat. The young people say that they feel themselves spied upon, nagged, and bossed. Gideon Brown, just setting out for Bentville to attend the business school, exclaimed, "In the city I can call on any girl I like, and I can stay out all night if I please!"

But the close personal intimacy of the people has some effects of another kind. Out of fear of what people will say, the houses are kept painted, and there are few crimes and almost no serious scandals. Moreover, at funerals the full church, crowded as on no other occasion, the flowers, the hushed, tense audience bear witness to deep and general sympathy. Neighborly help is ready in every emergency. The career of Giles Bingham, native son, is followed with pride. In all these things Alford is like one big, affectionate family.

To sum up, the chief characteristics of Alford are these: an unusual degree of rural seclusion; moderate prosperity, based upon an agriculture that while fairly productive is not highly remunerative; shifting of population, involving persons of all ages but marked by a tendency of young people to leave the community and of old people to come into the village; poverty of intellectual life; intimacy of social intercourse, partly through informal channels, partly through many uncoördinated social organizations, among which the churches are beginning to set an example of coöperative activity.

II

DODGETOWN

The New South

Dodgetown,[1] in the foothills of the Ozarks, is the trade and banking center not only for Hughes county, in which it is situated, but for parts of the four adjoining counties. To the west, the nearest center is twenty-two miles away.

The Dodgetown community extends eight miles north from the village center, five east, five south and six west, and contains 113 square miles. The survey was limited to this area, in which trade was not divided to any considerable extent with any other center, though the territory generally referred to locally as Dodgetown is even larger still. On every side of the town there is thickly settled farm country, the best lands lying to the north and the south. To the east there are small, scrubby farms where it takes many acres to raise a bale of cotton. Here the roads are poor and the farms are comparatively isolated. Few of the houses have more than three or four rooms; and for the most part they are poorly furnished and in bad repair.

On Saturdays and court days Dodgetown changes from civilian clothes to khaki, high boots and leather coats. The streets are then lined with ponies and automobiles and trucks. Mule carts loaded with grain are constantly on the move. Groups stand on the corners or chat in the stores. The Planters' Bank and the post office are common meeting places. These are busy days for the business men—when the real builders of the community come in to trade.

HISTORY

The history of Dodgetown is the history of an all-American community. It begins with a settlement in the early part of the

[1] The study of this village was made by Miss Marjorie Patten and Miss Elizabeth Wootten.

nineteenth century at Ardsley, which was the county seat until 1905.

A railroad that connected Dodgetown with the main line of the Missouri Pacific in that year gave the first impetus to development in this part of the county and stopped the growth of Ardsley, which still has no railroad. In 1890 the population of Dodgetown numbered 810. In 1900 it was only 928.

The second phase of Dodgetown's history covers the period of its ambitions and efforts to become an industrial and railroad center. A little group of local business men planned to build a short line of railroad into the valuable timber lands near-by. They were joined by outside capitalists who brought in large sums of money and a scheme to connect Dodgetown with the Gulf by rail, and to furnish the blackland wheat and cotton belt of northern Texas with hard pine timber.

The population by 1910 increased to 2,374, a gain of 155.8 per cent.

Large mills were set in operation which employed from three to four hundred men, and shipped out lumber to the capacity of 60,000,000 feet per annum. Old residents who remember these days say: "It was a little gold mine while it lasted." This period reached its climax when an order of the Interstate Commerce Commission segregated the lumber and railroad interests just at the critical moment and both were bankrupt. Dodgetown turned again to the soil for a livelihood. Much experience had been gained, a good lesson had been learned, and farming began in earnest. Population decreased during this decade, the village itself having only 2,144 people in 1920.

Now, in the third phase of its history, Dodgetown has an all-American village population of 2,500, including 300 Negroes, and is the center of a thickly settled farm country containing within a distance of eight miles nearly 5,000 people who look upon it as their home town.

SOIL

The region in which Dodgetown is situated has a wide variety of soil. The southern part of the country is nearly level and has a large area of blank, waxy land that is very fertile. Geologists say that once this was the bed of an inland sea.

The central area of the country has sandy soil mixed with gravel, and underneath is a fine red clay loam. Here the surface is undulating and on the slopes are the great Burrows' orchards and other younger, smaller orchards. Further north the altitude increases and cotton, corn and truck are grown. This was the part of the country first settled and some of the farms have been cultivated for seventy years. Until the last decade or two, scarcely any crops except corn and cotton were grown. The northern part of the country is broken up by mountains. The land is rocky and suitable for timber, though there are scattered farms in the valleys and on the uplands. With so great a variety of soil, crop failure is virtually unknown. The average annual rainfall of 55 inches is well distributed.

At the State Fair last year there were people who stood before the Hughes County exhibit with its fine peaches, cotton, vegetables, corn, etc., and finally asked the county agent in charge of the booth: "Where is Hughes County? What is the name of your County seat?" This is one of the distinctive things about Dodgetown. People outside do not know exactly where it is. "Next year," the county agent said, "we will have a state map at the fair with Hughes County in red."

CROPS

Once a cotton country, Dodgetown is becoming a diversified farming region. It raises fruit, berries, corn, truck and melons. Though cotton is still a money crop, a large part of the total income is from peaches; and young orchards are being developed throughout the district. The lowlands are being drained and planted with early apple trees. Berries are becoming a real money crop. Scrub stock is being eliminated and Dodgetown farmers are beginning to adopt modern methods of farming. Some have been slow to change from cotton. For example, one man owned a farm on which four generations had been scarcely able to make a living. A progressive young farmer leased it one year, though he could have bought it for $1,500, and when he made more than $1,000 clear on berries planted on only four acres, the owner suddenly became aware of the value of his property and the price increased to $6,000. That man has begun to plant strawberries. Other men who knew only cotton and corn have had much the

same kind of experience with truck and melons, peaches and apples.

The most talked of development about Dodgetown is the great Sid Burrows Peach Orchard of 4,500 acres. At present there are 165,000 bearing trees. Twenty years ago Mr. Sidney Burrows came from Birmingham where he had been in the produce business. When he told people that peaches would grow here they laughed at him. But he bought ninety acres for a song and planted them to peaches. He made a thorough study of the country, its soil and its climate. He saw that it was sheltered from cold winds by the mountains and therefore virtually free from killing frosts. He planted his orchard on the ridge lands, from which the cold air is drained into deep valleys to the north and east, while warm air takes its place. It is this natural drainage system that has made possible the great orchard which is now the pride of the country.

Sidney Burrows Orchard Company—Statistics

In a normal crop year this orchard ships 1,200 carloads of peaches. It was expected that the crop the year of the survey would sell for between half a million and six hundred thousand dollars. In 1919 close to $800,000 worth of peaches were shipped out. At the height of the season the company employs between 3,500 and 4,000 harvesters, nearly all of whom live in this section of the country. The farmers have by this time laid by their own crops and are glad to make an extra stake in the peach orchards. Regularly between 100 and 125 men, all Americans and a few of them colored, work in the orchard. At one time Florida labor was imported but now the local men have learned the art of packing this prize fruit and make from $100 to $150 a month; some of them as high as $250. There are five packing houses and five hotels, and in each section of the great orchard there are real little villages. A crew consists of twelve men—nine pickers, a loader, a water boy and the foreman. Everything goes like clockwork from the time the peaches are picked till they are packed and loaded on freight cars, where they are sold f.o.b.

Buyers from all over the country come here at harvest time. Established brands are sold to far-away markets without local inspection. "When you see the top peaches," Mr. Burrows said, "you see the bottom peaches. They're all graded."

The peaches from this orchard never lack a market and are used by exclusive buyers all over the world. Mr. Burrows is called the "Peach King." It is said that he has done more for this part of the country than any other man, not only in a financial way but in social service, church development, progressive influence.

COÖPERATIVE MARKETING

A few growers pooled their cotton last year for the first time. Dodgetown farmers have not yet seen any other need for coöperative marketing, although a berry association is being talked of. "We're in a state of transition," Mr. Burrows said. "The Farmers' Union is the step between. That may last and it may not; but through that we can get to the point where we can organize a regular selling association. We haven't needed it so badly, however, for buyers have come straight to me and prices have been good."

DEVELOPMENT

He says that the country is to-day about where he had hoped it would be ten years ago. People were slow to believe that this was a peach country, but now great development is in evidence. Other orchards have been planted, some by men who started out as foremen for Burrows. One of these is the Big Bend, of 2,500 acres. The Southern Fruit Growers have 500 acres that are under Burrows' management. He is paid for the pruning, cultivation and care of the orchard, while the owner harvests the crop and has the income. There are other small orchards coming on. Heretofore shipping has been done through a point outside the county, for the spur running into the orchards made a short cut to the main lines. Now plans are being completed for the building of a spur out from Dodgetown. This will mean the erection of a refrigerating plant, will add to the town's income, and will bring the country closer to the town and help farmers of small tracts to ship their products in less than carload lots.

Mr. Burrows, with the help of the Planters Bank and the Chamber of Commerce, is now putting forth a strawberry propo-

sition. To get the first one hundred acres planted the bank has offered to take the farmer's note, buy the plants, pay for the cultivation and clearing of the land, and charge no interest on the note, the farmer to pay the note out of the earnings when the berries are harvested. One farmer, who harvested his first crop of strawberries from a four-acre patch in 1923, had a net gain of over $1,000 after paying for his land, for the clearing, cultivation and harvesting.

In the dips between the hills where it is too wet for peaches to do well, apple trees have been planted. There is no competition in the early apple market here and these orchards will probably add considerably to the community's income in time. Over two hundred acres have already been planted and last year some fine Jonathans were shipped out.

Others have turned to specializing in truck.

One progressive farmer who lost all he had in the lumber company in 1910 began anew on a seventy-five acre farm, specializing in tomato plants. The year prior to this survey he shipped 4,000,000 plants to canners in Indiana, and expected to ship 15,000,000 the next year. During the plant-picking period from 75 to 100 people are employed, most of them girls and women from Dodgetown and the surrounding country. They make from $1,50 to $3.00 a day. The season lasts about forty-five days. This farmer, though not a member of the Farm Bureau, says he is saving $25 a ton on fertilizer by buying it through that organization.

Through the influence of leading farmers, orchardmen and the Farm Bureau, meetings have been held in the interest of better farming methods. Extension speakers have been in Dodgetown and good attendance has been encouraged by practical talks on safe farming, safe soil, etc. A soil specialist has recently made a survey of the county. The railroad sent a chicken Chautauqua here. The cars were filled with poultry exhibits and every one interested was invited to inspect them. Meetings were held at the school and theater, and talks on poultry-raising were given by experts. The county agent has contributed to the local paper articles giving practical advice on farming. All of these movements have been backed by the Chamber of Commerce, the Rotary and the Planters Bank.

TENANTRY

Tenantry, so often a social and economic problem in the South, is relatively low in this community. Seventy per cent. of the white farmers are owners. The income of the tenant is little less than that of the owner. The tenants are not of the transient kind. Many of them are Negroes.

Cotton and corn farms average about seventy-five acres, and the orchards range from ten acres up to three thousand acres. Truck farms run about five or six acres. Land values are estimated at from $50 to $150 an acre.

There are about 300 colored people all told in two neighborhoods which are at opposite sides of the community. About 400 others live out in the farming area. They are nearly all descendants of slaves, and they look upon Dodgetown as their permanent home. Some of them have bank accounts. They are considered by the white people to be law abiding, and above the average. The white people have little to do with them except in a business way. Some of the Negroes are servants and laborers in the village, but the majority of them work out on the farms.

ECONOMIC

From the beginning Dodgetown has been the natural shipping, banking and trading center for a wide farming area. The distance from the beaten track leading to larger centers, it is locally believed, has helped to diminish the exodus of young people. Though many have gone away, a considerable number have returned and helped to build up the community. Striking contrasts are found in a comparison of the age-groups and sex-groups of this diversified area with those of a strictly cotton community in a near-by state. The resident males between twenty and forty years of age in Dodgetown represent 31.8 per cent. of the total male population, as compared with a little over 25 per cent. in the cotton community.

Early failure to realize an industrial ambition, and the very isolation that so often causes community stagnation, are both believed to have been influences for progress in Dodgetown. Leaders determined to develop local resources to the maximum.

Evidence of the material growth of Dodgetown is found in

the record of the Planters Bank. In 1901 this bank was started with $10,000 capital. In 1916 its capital, surplus and undivided profits amounted to $107,000, and it had deposits totaling $600,000. To-day it has deposits of nearly $1,107,000; and a second bank has $216,000. The gain in village population from 1901 on was 180 per cent.

Dodgetown stores carry larger stocks than those of any other town of its size in the state. It supports three wholesale houses in close competition. During harvest season large quantities of food products are sold to the hotels at the orchards. One grocer has a large branch store in one of the orchard sections. There are four large drug stores, several ready-to-wear department stores, three concerns that not only carry hardware and furniture, but also do an undertaking business. There are seven grocery, seven general merchandise, two produce and two feed establishments, besides several smaller stores of various kinds.

During the last eight years Dodgetown has seen much building. A new $50,000 high school, remodeled only two years ago; a new $35,000 brick M. E. South church, all but $5,000 of which is paid for; a new $45,000 bank that would rival many a city bank; a new $25,000 theater; and three other large brick store buildings have been erected and opened for business. The total gross sales of one hardware and furniture store amounted to $73,837.53 in 1923. During the peach season in 1915 the telegraph company handled more than 5,000 messages and the office receipts amounted to $3,854.65.

The building and loan association has in five years increased its capital from $125,000 to $500,000. It has been organized seventeen years and lends money on farms in the community, something rarely done by such associations. Thousands of dollars have been loaned on farms without the loss of a dollar.

There is little industry in Dodgetown, the total number employed being less than one hundred. It is a true farmer's town. The business men are young for the most part and have lived here all their lives. Many of them are sons of erstwhile farmers. The farmer, the banker and the business man seem to pull well together, though they are little interested in one another except in a financial way.

THE ORGANIZATIONS

Dodgetown has more social organizations than the average southern village. Southern communities included in the village study averaged 10.7 organizations per village. Dodgetown has at least twenty active organizations. The average per capita expenditure, however, amounts to only $6.17 for the ten groups having any expenses, while the average for southern villages for per capita social organization expense was found in the study to amount to $7.04. The Rotarians have in their membership most of Dodgetown's prominent citizens.

The leading women's organization, which has over one hundred members, is the Parent-Teacher Association. It is interested not only in the school but in many other activities that affect the community's welfare. It has put pictures in the various schoolrooms, has purchased chairs for the lower grades, apparatus for the school playground and books for the library. The funds have been raised by banquets and plays which themselves contribute to the social life of the community. Village families have "adopted" country children attending school in town, thereby increasing good-will between town and country. The Parent-Teacher Association is referred to as "the organization that does things."

The Chamber of Commerce, though at present not overactive, has done much for Dodgetown. Good mail and passenger service on the railroad has been secured through the influence of its transportation committee. It has an oil committee working to develop lands where fuller's earth has recently been found. It has suppressed wild-cat schemes. Its president is Mr. Burrows, who is vice-president of the Rotary, and whose multiple activities suggest a tendency to leave too much for this one man to shoulder.

The Camp Fire is a young people's organization of promise. The regular program is carried out, but boys are invited to all parties and socials, which helps make up for the lack of a scout organization. The Camp Fire leader is a young woman, a music and kindergarten teacher, whose home is a meeting place for young people. In her big front room they can dance and play games and talk things over. When she first suggested inviting the boys, the Camp Fire girls said, "They won't want to come."

"Just let's try them," the leader urged. So they did; and the boys have been coming ever since.

In fair weather the Camp Fire girls have two hikes a month. In summer they go on swimming parties. They are planning to build a camp house near the Burrows orchards. Some of the leader's relatives have given the land; the shack is to be built close by the main highway; and the girls are to earn money serving food and tea to tourists. Each of the twenty girls is raising $50 toward the building—some by sewing, others by selling candy, some by doing errands. The house is to have a big hall with a fireplace, a kitchenette and sun parlor for tea, and upstairs a bunk-shed in which, if they wish, they can stay overnight.

The girls never go on any parties unchaperoned, and the boys are really a part of the organization. They meet with full attendance and, last year, with the help of the boys, they put on a play and made more than $100 which they gave to the Parent-Teacher Association. Thus was formed a link between the leading young people's and the leading women's organizations of Dodgetown.

The Women's Literary Club was organized in 1913 and is federated with the State Federation. It has four standing committees, a library, a program, civics and benevolent group. There are six ladies on each committee and each committee reports at each meeting. The benevolent committee has charge of charity cases and sees that the money needed is raised when any call comes. About $250 is given annually by private subscription.

The library committee has charge of the city library in the courthouse. All the members of the club take turns in acting as librarian on Saturday afternoons. This committee has charge of the purchase of new books and the cleaning of the library room. One dollar a year is charged for borrowers who are adults; twenty-five cents for children. More than two-thirds of the books are fiction, but they include standard works of the best writers. For a time the ladies undertook to work out among farm women, urging them to drop in at the library when in town and take out magazines. The farm women were quite enthusiastic at first; but bad roads and sickness soon caused their interest to lag, and the work was discontinued. The women in the city, too, were not as interested as they might have been. However,

they hope to reorganize this part of the work and go on with extension libraries into the rural districts.

The club program is miscellaneous, and necessarily so because most of the members are interested only in this kind of a program. Few are members because they desire to study. They like variety and entertainment. The Tuesday music club is federated, has twenty-three members and a fine program. It gives an Easter cantata for the benefit of the cemetery fund. It made fifty or sixty dollars last year. It also gives a Christmas cantata each year to provide running expenses. This organization pays $10 a year to the artist fund of the state for the education of a worthy boy or girl musically inclined, who is unable to pay tuition.

There are seven active lodges, six of them for men. There was an active Rebecca Lodge for a time, but its charter has been returned. The Eastern Star is the only active lodge-group for women. Several card clubs have weekly meetings and carry on a purely social program.

It is said that the most active benevolent organization is the K. K. K., about which little information is available. The mayor credits it with an 80 per cent. decrease in crime as compared with four years ago, and with making Dodgetown the "dryest town in the state."

In the colored section there are nine organizations, all lodges but one, and three of them insurance organizations.

LEADERSHIP

Mr. Sidney Burrows and his wife are by common consent leaders in church and community activities. Though their membership is in the church that they established at Blossom View, they are among the leading supporters of the M. E. South church at Dodgetown. Their home is the joy of the young people because they have entered into the life of their own children. Auto parties, socials, picnics and informal gatherings are the order of the day in their spacious farm home.

People say of Mr. Frank Bowley, the cashier of the Planters Bank, that he is "the life of the town." Last year he wrote a musical comedy and with his wife produced it, with great success, in the Liberty Theater.

Rev. J. E. Smith, of the M. E. South church, had been Dodgetown's only resident pastor until a short time before the survey. He's a Rotarian and a good neighbor. "Hello, Joe," is the manner in which townsmen greet him; and he says no one knows what a big relief it is to know folks on those terms. Much credit is given this pastor in broadening the influence of church and community spirit.

Miss Virginia Douglas is a young woman who is willing to sacrifice a large part of her free time to the young people. Three other women help her in various ways. Mrs. J. Fish, the wife of the mayor, is a leader in the literary society, a good talker, organizer and worker for community betterment. She is also a keen business woman and one of Dodgetown's leading club women.

Judge Lamley is an old resident of Dodgetown, has seen the community develop, and has been interested in every phase of its development. He is a general "joiner," a leader in the Presbyterian church, leader in law, and has been deputy clerk, county treasurer, newspaper man, and secretary of a lumber company. He is a member of four lodges and knows more about Dodgetown's history than almost any other man.

CLASSES

Dodgetown is clannish. There are strict lines between the black and white races; between the old residents and newcomers; between the churches of different denominations; and between town and country.

The first barrier is natural, for Dodgetown is a thoroughly southern community. It holds aloof from the Negroes, save as it sells goods to them or employs them in menial service. Still the blacks call the community "home" and Dodgetown has not suffered from the northern exodus.[2]

In the second place, time of residence counts for much.

[2] An interesting contrast is found in the status of colored people in the strictly cotton community before referred to. In Dodgetown 24 per cent. are classed as illiterates; in the cotton community nearly 28 per cent. are so classified in the last census. In both, the colored people have seen the community grow up; but in Dodgetown they are regarded as "good American citizens," while in the cotton community they are looked upon as only cotton-field laborers and many still live in little log cabins built before the Civil War. The cotton community is concerned over the northern exodus.

Really to belong to Dodgetown one must have been born and raised there. A resident for fourteen years remarked that he was still considered a newcomer. Dodgetown takes great pride in the fact that descendants of the original families still lead in furthering its development.

The third division is the most marked. Denominational lines are definitely drawn. Though church leaders are for the most part community leaders and coöperate in community affairs, they go their separate ways on Sundays.

In the fourth place, town and country barriers are still noticeable. Even though the village leaders and those of the country are friendly, the members of the two groups do not mingle to any extent in a social way, nor do they attend the same churches. Some years ago considerable antagonism was aroused over the matter of road building. Among some of the more isolated farmers the subject is still a sore point. In the social organizations in town there are few country members; and of the 779 members of village churches, only twenty live on farms. The Rotary and Parent-Teacher Association have done more than the other organizations to encourage better neighborliness between farmers and townspeople. The P.T.A. is out for country members, and is interested in country children; the Rotary has encouraged both farmers and business men to adopt modern methods and to get together in the solving of their problems. Well out in the country there are churches for the country people; but villagers admit that within three miles of the center there are many people not reached by any church. The courthouse is in poor repair, is badly kept, and stands in striking contrast to the other buildings in the community. Despite the large rural area served, Dodgetown has no rest room for farmers' wives.

At present no public health work of any kind is being carried on. There is no county or community nurse. Quarantine rules are lax. There is no health officer and no regular examination of pupils in the schools. Dodgetown leaders assert that their community is healthy and does not need such work. At the time of the survey, epidemics of measles, whooping cough and flu were raging; and no special effort was being made to check them. They were especially severe in the rural districts where modern household sanitation appeared to be largely unknown.

There is no community auditorium. Neither the high school nor the courthouse furnishes a common meeting place; no church could be used because of the keen denominational feeling; and the library is a dark, dingy room not adapted for the holding of meetings.

EDUCATION

On the whole, Dodgetown's schools do not rank very well. School equipment is poor and the high-school building in particular is entirely inadequate. Each year the school expenses exceed the budget, since only a twelve mill tax is collectable by law. The 1924 school budget amounted to approximately $16,000 only.

Grade-school teachers, seven in number, receive salaries ranging from $720 to $900 a year. The teaching cost per pupil in this school is $10.76. Salaries of the six high-school teachers range from $900 to $1,670, and the teaching cost per pupil in 1924 was $55.65. These figures are respectively 41 per cent. and 14 per cent. below the average for the thirty southern villages included in this study.

Attendance in the grades is 93 per cent., while in the high school it is 98.3 per cent. These figures are more than 5 per cent. higher than the regional average; but the proportion of all persons of school age who are enrolled is considerably below the average.

The school has two active literary clubs, including in their membership both boys and girls; and in addition the boys have organized athletics—football, baseball, basketball and track. Playground equipment for the smaller children has been given and is maintained by the Parent-Teacher Association.

The curriculum is largely academic. There is no course in agriculture, nor a manual-training course. There is, however, a growing interest in a two-year domestic science course fostered by the live Parent-Teacher Association. The classes in history and English are socialized, broadening their scope and serving as leadership-training groups.

In 1923 there were 485 pupils enrolled in the grade school and about one-fifth of these lived in the country. Of the 138 pupils in the high school, 24 per cent. were farm boys and girls. During

the year previous to the survey nine pupils entered college from the Dodgetown high school.

The schools for white children and those for colored children are under different management and draw their funds from different sources—the white schools from taxes collected from white property owners, the others from taxes collected from colored property owners. Since much of the property occupied by colored people is owned by whites, this division of taxes makes it especially hard to support adequately the colored schools.

At the southern end of the village the colored people, with little help from their white neighbors, have erected a rather good school building of their own; and, with $900 from the Rosenwald fund, have been able to equip it adequately. This colored neighborhood has its own leadership, active especially in church and school—one outstanding woman who heads up the missionary work in the largest church, teaches domestic science in the colored school, receiving her salary by subscription in the neighborhood.

The rural schools, both white and colored, are poor in equipment, teaching force and support. The length of term is only six months, salaries from $200 to $600, and only one teacher is a graduate of a four-year high school. Like the colored and white churches, the rural schools have been left behind in the onward march of economic progress. They represent the old order of things.

CHURCHES

The church is the important institution in Dodgetown. The Baptists were the first to organize here, but they were soon followed by the Methodist and Christian organizations. Later, in 1902, the Presbyterians organized with seven members; and in 1908 the congregation of the Christian church was split, making five church organizations in a town with 1,900 white residents—a church for every 380 people.

These five village churches have 779 resident members, only twenty of whom live in the open country—leaving 759 people, or 39.9 per cent. of the population of the village, resident church-members. Forty-five per cent. of the resident members of village churches are between the ages of 21 and 45, 20 per cent. are under

21, and 35 per cent. are over 45. The female membership exceeds the male by 75, whereas in the population of church-membership age, females lead by only 38. Comparing the total resident membership with the number reported by the 1920 Census over ten years of age, it is found that nearly 60 per cent. are affiliated with the churches of Dodgetown. Exact comparison by age-groups and sex-groups for the white people follow:

Age-Groups	Percentage of Males In		Percentage of Females In	
	Total Pop.	*Church*	*Total Pop.*	*Church*
Under 21	7.5	9.2	8.9	11.2
21–44	25.5	19.4	28.2	25.0
45 and over	16.1	16.5	13.8	18.7
All groups	49.1	45.1	50.9	54.9

With the exception of one of the Christian churches, which is without paint and in very poor repair, the village church buildings are above average. The total valuation of the five buildings is $82,300. Only one church at present has a parsonage, though the Baptists are building one for their incoming pastor. The equipment of the new Methodist church is adequate for the introduction of any kind of social program that Dodgetown might adopt; but the members do not approve of social activity in the churches.

The total amount spent by these five village churches during the past year was $41,636.08, of which 6 per cent. was given for benevolence, 11 per cent. for pastoral salaries, and the rest for building and general expenses. This total is larger than it would ordinarily be because of the Methodist building fund; however, in other years Methodist gifts to the denominational Centenary Fund have been greater. The per capita given in these churches ranged last year from $3.17 in the Unprogressive Christian church to $82.14 in the Methodist church; this again is not quite average because of the building fund.

The five village churches gained in membership last year a total of 46; but they lost by dismissal and death a total of 31, leaving a net gain of only 15.

The Methodist organization is the strongest numerically and financially. Its new building is modern throughout; in the basement there are four rooms for Sunday-school purposes, a kitchenette, and an auditorium which is to have movable seats and which is to serve also as a dining-room and a social room. The

main auditorium is to have a pipe organ; and in addition, on this floor, are a pastor's study and two other small rooms for Sunday-school classes. On the third floor are four classrooms.

Twenty-six thousand dollars have already been paid on this building, and the other $5,000 are to be paid in five years. Nine members of the church gave $1,000 each in the beginning, and several of these nine gave more as time went on.

This church, like the others, has no organized activities for age-groups and sex-groups other than the Sunday-school missionary societies and league; but these organizations have good leaders, and it is hoped that, with the new church building to work in, they can have a better program. Services have been held in the schoolhouse during the erection of the church.

According to the field workers, Mr. Bowley, the minister of this church, is a Modernist rather than a Fundamentalist. He plans to have as modern a program as he can put on; and believes that if it is to succeed in holding its young people, a church must have a social program.

The Baptist church has a good church building and a good membership; but, with the exception of the Sunday school and the leagues, is not very active. As one woman said: "This new minister of ours looks as if he had some punch, and that is what we need; this church is just dead now."

The Presbyterian church was organized in 1902 with seven members, has always had a small congregation, and has been partly dependent upon the church boards for its support. Until last year a minister was supplied this charge, which consisted of three preaching points. Last year no preacher was supplied and no services were held, though the Sunday school was maintained. This year, however, Bengen and Dodgetown, with the help of the Mission Aid Board and of the Evangelistic Board, are employing a capable minister. He is to receive $800 from the Dodgetown church, $100 from the Bengen church and $1,200 from the two Boards. The first Sunday of the month will be given to the Evangelistic Board, the second, third and fourth Sunday mornings he will preach here and on the second and fourth Sunday afternoons of the month he will preach at Bengen.

In 1908 the congregation of the Christian church split—one part of it being known as "Progressive" and the other as "Unprogressive." Each has a church building; but both congrega-

tions are weak and unable to support a resident minister. The Progressive church, however, has the services of a retired minister who is financially independent and likes to live in this community.

These churches, four of which have more than average equipment and all of which have good leaders—in every case these leaders are also community leaders—are not putting on more than average programs. There is no coöperation among the different groups. There are not even union services. Each congregation is living only unto itself and none of them regards the organization of activities for age-groups and sex-groups as important. The Methodists and the Baptists each have young people's societies, but no separate organizations for boys or girls, or for men.

In the open country, religious conditions are like those of most southern communities. Seventeen little crossroads churches form the centers for as many scattered farm neighborhoods, and provide all there is of social and religious life outside the village.

In the seventeen groups, only four denominations are represented. The total enrollment includes only 28 per cent. of the country population. It would seem that neither the village nor the country church is making a very dynamic appeal to the country people of the community.

Only three of the seventeen country churches have resident ministers; and none of the three gives full time to one church. Ten of the country churches have pastors who serve four or more points each; and the distance traveled by these circuit pastors ranges from two to sixty miles.

In one neighborhood of not more than 250 population, there are four churches holding services, two of them of the Baptist denomination. Some time ago a Methodist minister introduced a series of debates, which he hoped would bring the four churches into closer relationship; but instead they resulted in a split in the Baptist church. Now one Baptist organization is served by a pastor who travels all the way from another state to preach one Sunday a month.

The country churches average one or two services a month, few have any midweek activities, none has any organizations for men, boys or girls. The salaries paid to their pastors range from $60 to $900 a year.

Only two of these churches are in any way above the average. These have unusual support and leadership, and are located in the better farm sections. The Methodist church at Blossom, in the midst of the great peach orchard, is virtually supported by Mr. Burrows and his family. The church is well painted, and has screens to divide the auditorium into separate classrooms. It has the banner Sunday school of the district, and is the common gathering place for the orchard family. It has a live, young, resident pastor who serves four other points.

Yancey Chapel, in the northwest corner of the community, has for years been a strong organization. It had one steward for seventeen years, and through his leadership among the young people of this district they have been kept interested in the church's development. This steward is one of the most progressive farmers Dodgetown has.

The country churches have small membership, only one of them reporting as many as 200 resident members. Twelve report 100 or fewer, and five have fewer than fifty. Gain in membership for last year was small, and in most cases it was outnumbered by the losses by death and removal.

Within the boundaries of the Dodgetown community there are also eight colored churches, four of which are inside the village limits, or just outside, and therefore are considered as village churches. The total colored population in the community is 700; the total resident enrollment of village and open-country churches numbers 371, or 53 per cent. of the colored population. The average membership of the village churches is 44, and of the open-country churches 49. The net gain of the four village churches last year was only fourteen, and two churches suffered a net loss. All four country churches have regular Sunday schools; and on the Sundays when church services are held there are services in the morning, afternoon and evening. Not one of the churches has a resident pastor; and the distance each pastor travels for a service ranges from twenty-five to eighty miles. The four village churches together pay their pastors annually a total salary of $1,216; and none pays more than $400. Not all of these churches have services every Sunday; but it is the custom for the members of all the denominations to visit any church that happens to have services.

The membership of the Negro country churches outnumbers

that of the village churches by twenty-one. As a rule a church has three services on one Sunday a month. Their memberships range from forty-one to sixty, and include 49 per cent. of the country colored population. So distinctly separate are the colored people from the white people that not even the pastors of Dodgetown knew how many colored churches there were in the community, or who their ministers were.

III

WESSON

The Old South

Wesson[1] is in the black-land prairie belt of the old South and has always depended upon cotton as its chief source of income.

The first settlers were wealthy planters, chiefly of English descent, who migrated from Virginia about 1838. To-day, the community bears witness to an aristocratic beginning. Descendants talk proudly of the *ante bellum* days of plenty; of the coaches their grandfathers owned; and of the life on the broad plantations which they are just now reluctantly beginning to subdivide. They speak of the Civil War as if it had occurred only a few months ago.

Wesson looks old, homey, easy-going and proud. The main street is only a block long; but it is paved and lighted. The stores, nearly all kept by merchants who have grown up with them or who have inherited them, carry general merchandise only and are typical of the one-crop community where money comes in but once a year and the customers are largely farm tenants and laborers, white and colored. On Saturdays especially, the streets are crowded; for Wesson is the only trade center for miles around, its trade area including some 205 square miles. Traders come in all sorts of conveyances; some in lumber wagons with chairs set in for seats and driving two or four donkeys, some on ponies, and others in Fords and buggies. Sometimes in the evening, after stores are closed, the colored folk sing and dance in the street. Wesson is a typical plantation village where any change takes place slowly.

Family life is all-important. In the surrounding country are found lovely old white-pillared family houses set far back from the roads. In their yards still stand the ruins of little log cabins

[1] The study of this village was made by Miss Marjorie Patten and Miss Elizabeth Wootten.

lived in by colored tenants who work in the cotton fields of the old plantations just as before the war. There are only three distinct neighborhoods, and they are largely made up of colored people living about a church or a school in the midst of the cotton fields. Good roads lead into the village and the near-by crossroads hamlets have gradually decreased in importance. The village center and the county seat are the units of community life in this region.

POPULATION

Over half the village population of Wesson, and over two-thirds of its country population, is colored. In 1900 the total village population was 612. During the next decade came an increase of 38.9 per cent., owing largely to retired farmers moving into the village. During the next ten years the community remained virtually stationary; but since 1920 the population has again increased until it now numbers about one thousand. Recent gains have resulted largely from two causes: the boll weevil has driven both white and colored farmers from the land to the village, and several families have come from the north hoping to secure small plots of land as the old plantations are subdivided. Despite this gain, the average number of persons per household is 3.6, as against a regional average of 4.2. About 2,000 people live in the contiguous rural area.

One of the effects of one-crop agriculture, and of lack of economic opportunity in the village, is seen in the distribution of the age-groups and sex-groups. In the southern villages as a whole, 30.8 per cent. of the males were found to be between the ages of twenty-one and forty. In Wesson the proportion was 25.2. There were 30 per cent. more females than males in this age-group. Conversely, while in all southern villages less than 8 per cent. of the males were over sixty years of age, in Wesson an even 10 per cent. had reached this age.

It is said that during the last four years over one-eighth of the Negroes who formerly were laborers on farms have moved to the North, and that not many who left have returned. Thus the farm labor situation has become critical. At the time of the survey, an effort was being made, with the coöperation of the railroad authorities, to reach the colored people in the cities and

induce them, with offers of free transportation, to return in time to work in the next cotton crop.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

There is a saying in the community that "what has hurt this part of the country most is that the white folks done quit work." Seldom does one see a white farmer in overalls. The white farmers are generally "country gentlemen." A leading citizen said: "They haven't been born to it, and it will take years before they will get down to business and go to work with their hands. They sit on their porches or they hang about town. But they won't sell an acre, even though they will never be able to cultivate it. They have held this land for years, and they mean to keep on holding on to it."

Farms range in size from thirty to two thousand acres. Leading agriculturists say that until owners of large tracts are willing to sell part of their great holdings, and until the small landowner begins to develop the land intensively, no considerable growth can be looked for. Under present labor conditions the plantations are too large to be adequately handled and much land is lying fallow. Scientific farming is in its infancy. For decades cotton has been raised on most of the land eight years in every ten, and corn the other two years, with the result that the soil is worn out. Little thought has been given to crop rotation, to refertilization, or to proper drainage. The last is important, because the rainfall averages 53.4 inches; it takes days for the land to dry sufficiently for the farmer to work it after the rainy season, and just at the time when the plowing should be done the creeks are most apt to overflow. A Farm Bureau, recently organized, is beginning to develop progressive methods; and the farmers, according to the county agent, are eager to coöperate in the effort to improve conditions. The bureau membership includes seventy farmers of the Wesson district; thirty-five of them are shipping cotton under the Farm Bureau Cotton Association contract and are very well pleased. There are ten signed-up coöperative shippers of cattle and hogs, and six are shipping cottonseed through the bureau selling organization. Twenty-four buy fertilizer and ten buy feed for their cattle and poultry

through the bureau. A poultry association has been organized; and a cow-testing association tested six thousand cows in the county recently and found not one infected. Field crop demonstrations are planned, and experiments with boll weevil poisoning and soil building have been tried out.

That diversified farming can succeed is shown by the estimated valuation of crops raised in the community in the year preceding the survey. Of the total valuation of $1,723,500, cotton and cottonseed account for one-third; lumber, cattle and hogs for approximately one-sixth each; and the remaining sixth represents income from the newer agricultural products such as cream, alfalfa, poultry and eggs, which were produced on a relatively much smaller proportion of the farm acreage. The dairying has brought into the village a creamery, which makes an average of a ton of butter a week. This venture came as a result of the inroads of the boll weevil. As farmers were forced from the cotton fields, dairying began to develop, and though it has been difficult to make dairy farmers out of cotton planters, there are now several dairy farms, each with from fifteen to two hundred cattle.

But further progress toward diversified agriculture will probably not be rapid. One reason is that few tenants have either the capital or the ability to engage in diversified farming.

Because of the large number of colored farmers, tenantry runs as high as 65 per cent. Ninety per cent. of the white farmers own their land, however, though mortgages are numerous.

The value of most land per acre ranged from $35 to $75. The best land sells at from $125 to $150 an acre according to improvements and location.

It will be seen that agriculture is the basis of Wesson's economic life. The village simply gives what service is necessary. It has made no effort to develop itself or the countryside. There is no business men's club of any sort, no Rotary or Kiwanis, nor any other agency that can speak and act for the economic interests of the village.

ATTITUDES

Wesson's white population is interested in topics of the day.

A few leaders are boosting the community and trying to help in the education of the less progressive. Wesson is aristocratic, proud of its families and of a certain kind of progress. It is thankful for an all-American-born population. It desires no great growth, but holds to its position of a worthy Southern blue-blooded community as in the days "before the war."

Leadership is about equally divided between town and country in matters of church, school, economic and social life. The president of the P.T.A. lives out of the village and is counted among the most popular and influential women of the community. Church leadership is especially strong in the country.

Farmers have always used this village as their natural service center as a matter of course. Business men are mostly men who have lived here for years, and their business has grown without very much effort on their part. Farmers and townsmen are closely related both by family and business ties.

Wesson people are opposed to any new industrial development, for fear that it may bring in an undesirable element.

Distinct lines are drawn in two instances in the community. There is class distinction between denominations and between white and colored people. Twenty-eight per cent. of the colored population ten years of age and over is illiterate—a larger percentage than the average for the southern villages of the study. The status of the colored people in Wesson has changed little since the Civil War, except that they are "free" and are paid for their labor. Their homes are small cabins, and their school is far from equal to the white school. Their chief activity centers in the country church and in the colored lodges.

SOCIAL LIFE

Of the older organizations in Wesson nearly as many are inactive as active. The W.C.T.U., the American Legion, the United Daughters of the Confederacy, the Boy Scouts and the Chamber of Commerce, all of which were once active organizations, have disbanded owing to lack of interest, lack of leadership and lack of coöperation. Furthermore, as in many southern villages, there are almost none of the purely social clubs that are so numerous in other parts of the country.

THE ORGANIZATIONS

One of the most important facts about Wesson's social life is that a large country membership is included in almost all the organizations. Another fact is that the village is not overorganized. A great deal of the social life is carried on through church groups. A leading woman said: "We are getting so that we just don't entertain in our homes any more. We meet our friends at the churches and clubs."

One of the most influential organizations in the community is the Parent-Teacher Association, which was organized about eight years ago. It now has eighty members, twenty-four of them from the country. The association is federated with the state organization. It has bought playground equipment and two pianos, has helped buy books for the school library, has organized and carried through a clean-up-week and a book-week; and the year of the survey was paying a music teacher to give lessons in sight singing in six of the grades.

The Maids' and Matrons' Literary Society has been organized since 1905, and has a real study program. It began its work with the Chautauqua course, but later, because this was too expensive, the extension course of study from the extension department of the state university was introduced. It includes fifteen programs and gives suggestions for supplementary reading along the various lines taken up in the studies used.

Besides this, the university freely lends study books for reference and the club members are interested sufficiently to send for them and read them. A few women who did not care for study withdrew and organized a card club. Both groups are satisfied. One of the civic interests of the literary club has been that of caring for the little park near the railroad station. Fifty per cent. of the members are country women and are among the best-read of Wesson's women citizens. There is only one lodge for women in the community—the Eastern Star—organized only a year ago.

The Masonic Lodge is active, although it has only seventy-six members. The Knights of Pythias Lodge is largely inactive, but has $1,500 in the bank. The Woodmen of the World is chiefly an insurance organization and holds only one meeting a year.

The average per capita expense of the social organizations was only $2.67, the lowest for any village in the study.

Wesson also has a fine thirty-five piece orchestra, which was organized two years before the survey was made. It is in demand for community and church functions throughout the countryside. It includes most of the boys between the ages of sixteen and twenty-four. The leader is a farmer intensely interested in both music and boys. The orchestra has been a complete success, and has done much toward solving the boy-problem of Wesson. It is, however, the only young people's organization. The girls in the school have a Girls Reserve group, and the school also carries on something of an athletic program; but there are no community organizations for boys and girls. "They just have nothing to do," a leading citizen remarked. As a result there has been rowdyism, especially among the young men, on several occasions. But the druggist, also a retired Baptist pastor, said after one of these outbreaks: "Those boys are too bad to live. The Lord ought to call 'em." There are those who know the need of organized activity for their young people, and there has been some talk of building a community house; but the advocates of this plan feel that because of the strong feeling among the churches aroused by a communitywide evangelistic meeting, a community house would fail in its purpose. As one person put it: "If the builders were community rather than church leaders, a common meeting place of this kind might be able to bring about the harmony needed; but it will take time and tact and a leadership that is not now in evidence, but which may come with some of the newcomers to the uncultivated lands of some of the big plantations."

The young people of Wesson grow up almost unnoticed unless they transgress some of the community's "thou shalt nots." They must not dance or play cards. They have no movies. Ask them what they do for fun and they invariably answer the same way, "Oh, nothing much." Ask, "Will you stay in Wesson when you finish school?" and an overwhelming majority are not slow to answer, "No."

The leadership of the village is individual and not organized in any way. There is scarcely an outstanding leader in the community. There is Mr. Ben Gilkins, who has boosted this country all his life; there is Mrs. White, who can lead a big men's

Bible class and carry the program of the Methodist Mission Society; and there is Mrs. Harry Hall, who is largely responsible for the live program of the P.T.A. And there are other individual leaders in various lines; but they work alone. Since war days, no united effort has been made for community betterment or for the development of any phase of community growth.

SCHOOLS

In Wesson School District there are two schools, one white and one colored. The school for white children is a consolidation of three schools. Two of these in the country were closed and the children are now transported at public expense from everywhere within about seven miles of the village. The tax in this district is fourteen mills, expended solely on the white school, which also shares heavily in the state tax of 6¾ mills and the 1¼ mills county tax. Even with this, there is not money available to build an adequate building for the white pupils. There is some talk of having a bond issue; but there is opposition to this, and one proposal of the kind has already been defeated. The present building, which houses both the elementary and the high-school grades, is in good condition but much too small and poorly equipped. There was no additional space provided when the consolidation took place. The school's teaching equipment is good and there is a good library, which is used to some extent by outsiders.

Country pupils form a large proportion of both the grade and high-school enrollment in the school for white children. Of 172 pupils in the grades, eighty-two, or 47.6 per cent., are country pupils; of forty-two high school pupils, twelve, or two-fifths, are country pupils.

The average attendance at Wesson's schools shows a wide difference between the lower and the high-school grades. The latter made a record of 92.3 in the year of the survey, slightly above the regional average; but the record of the grade was very poor.

The six teachers of the elementary grades receive salaries ranging from $810 to $900; the two high-school teachers receive salaries of $900 each. Not one of them is a native of Wesson,

and all but two are graduates of a college or a normal school. Except for membership in the P.T.A., they take no part in local affairs.

The teaching cost per pupil in the grades is $30.08; in high school, $100. This figure is considerably above the average of the thirty southern villages included in this study.

The high-school curriculum includes one year of domestic science, and two years of elementary agriculture, besides the regular academic work.

The colored school in the village has 158 pupils in six grades. The three teachers have salaries ranging from $182 to $490 a year. Two of the teachers report training of only two years beyond the eighth grade.

In the area included in the community there are seven open-country colored schools with short, uncertain terms, poor equipment and poorly trained, underpaid teachers.

The county school tax rate is 1¼ mills, a figure much too low for the carrying out of any adequate program in the Negro school; and it was thought that even this rate was likely to be reduced.

So far as colored schools are concerned, little is being done in Wesson for their improvement. No industrial work is included in their program. The white people show but slight interest in educational work among their colored neighbors, yet in the county the colored children of school age outnumber the white children six to one. Even the short term of the Negro schools, nominally about seven months, was cut short the year before the survey when the teachers were dismissed without notice and the schools were closed because "there was no more money available."

CHURCHES

The church is the outstanding institution in Wesson and the majority of the people are Baptists or Methodists. There are, however, two small church organizations, one Cumberland Presbyterian and the other Episcopal; but neither has a resident minister. The Baptist minister said: "You know I am here to put the Southern Baptist Church on the map in this section—the Methodists have had too little competition here and they are all over the place." And Wesson shows plainly the results of

this competition. The thing uppermost in people's minds is, "To what church do you belong?"—and one is not in the community long before that question is asked.

For three weeks, in the month prior to the survey, Gypsy Smith, the Evangelist, held services in the city fourteen miles from Wesson; and his influence, good in many ways, has drawn tighter denominational lines in Wesson. The Baptist preacher is in part responsible for this as he is not willing to coöperate in the thing that has grown out of this evangelistic meeting, the Laymen's League. This league is a county-wide organization with a membership of some seven hundred men, about seventy of whom belong to the Wesson team and are responsible for the work in their vicinity. The object of the league is to benefit the community religiously and morally by setting good examples, and by taking into the outlying communities the inspiration received from the Evangelist. This work so far has been in the form of definite assignments that do not make it necessary for any of the men taking part to be absent from their regular church services. The Baptist minister objects to the league because the work it has set for itself will take the church-members from their regular services; and he declares that no Southern Baptist believes in coöperation with any other denomination. Several of his members, one at least an officer in the church, are prominent and active in the work of the league, and as a result there is friction in the church. The Methodist minister, who is in sympathy with the league, is said by the Baptist minister to be taking unfair advantage of the situation. All this is especially important in Wesson because numbers of families are divided between the Baptist and Methodist denominations and the controversy thus makes a difficult situation.

The Prayer Group is another organization that grew out of these evangelistic meetings. As a preliminary to the campaign, Gypsy Smith asked that each town in the county hold daily prayer meetings for a certain length of time. In Wesson these meetings had been continued weekly since the revival up to the time of the survey. They were held in the bank building, and were attended by business and professional men. Laymen took charge and hoped to make the meetings a permanent institution. For a while the stores were closed for half-an-hour at noon, so that every one could attend, but this practice was soon abandoned.

In the village's four white churches there are 415 resident members, 119, or 29 per cent., of whom live in the open country, leaving 296 members, or 71 per cent., village residents. Thus 24 per cent. of the white residents of the village are church-members. Twenty-seven per cent. of the resident members of village churches are under twenty-one years of age, 40 per cent. are between twenty-one and forty-four, and 33 per cent. are forty-five and over.

The appeal of the church to the various age-groups and sex-groups is shown below. Especially for the whites there is a remarkably close comparison between the proportion of the sexes in the population and in church.

	Whites Over 10 Years				Colored Over 10 Years			
	in total pop.		in church		in total pop.		in church	
	Males	*Females*	*Males*	*Females*	*Males*	*Females*	*Males*	*Females*
Age-Groups	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
10–21	10.8	16.2	10.8	14.5	15.1	18.9	8.0	13.7
21–44	23.1	22.3	20.0	22.3	11.5	20.3	20.3	24.4
45 and over..	13.6	14.0	16.2	16.2	17.1	17.1	16.8	16.8
All groups ..	47.5	52.5	47.0	53.0	43.7	56.3	45.1	54.9

This shows that to a remarkable degree the white churches have reached virtually all groups in the same proportion. The Negro churches have accomplished the unusual feat of enrolling proportionately more males than females.

In the open-country area included in the study, there is just one white church and it has been abandoned for ten years. It was a Baptist church at Fairhope, and when it was closed most of its members joined the Wesson church. Supposedly, Wesson churches serve this territory; yet over four-fifths of the white country population is not included on the rolls of any church.

The total valuation of the four church buildings, none of which is adequately equipped for more than a preaching program, is $16,000. The total expenditures for the last fiscal year before the survey amounted to $11,719, a little over half of which is spent for missions and benevolences. This proportion is considerably above the average. For pastors' salaries, which range from $500 to $1,500, $3,920 was spent. Two pastors serve two points each; and one serves three mission churches and has charge of the students' work at a college in the county. All four churches gained in membership during the year before the survey; and, after the Gypsy Smith meetings, the membership of

the Baptist and Methodist churches increased considerably. They now have 329 resident members; but only two-thirds of these are classed as active.

The enrollment of the four Sunday schools numbers 308; and eighty-five, or 28 per cent., of those enrolled are from homes in the country. The membership and attendance of the Methodist Sunday school is the largest of the four, the enrollment equaling that of the Baptist and Presbyterian together. The average attendance is 78 per cent. of the enrollment, a ratio very much better than the average.

Both of the stronger churches have good young people's societies under good leadership, and the women's work is strong and well organized. The men, though indifferent to some extent in the past, have come to the fore since the Gypsy Smith meeting, so that all age-groups and sex-groups are reached so far as religious activities are concerned, though no social program has yet been systematically carried out.

Because the Methodist pastor is sympathetic with the work that has grown out of the revival, his church has gained more support than the Baptist. Mr. Green, the minister, is rough and untrained, but extremely human and a good mixer. The equipment of his church is not adequate, there being only one small room besides the auditorium.

The Baptist church is well organized in all of its departments and has good leaders. Mr. Cummin, the minister, is a good organizer; he is impressed by the importance of leadership training and has worked for it. His ambition is to strengthen the Southern Baptist Church. He lives it and preaches it; and he has succeeded in tightening the denominational lines in the town, and has aroused some antagonism. There are some members in his own church who are not in complete sympathy with his methods and practices.

The equipment of this church is the best in town. It has more separate Sunday-school rooms than the others, and the organization is more nearly complete in its programs to reach age-groups and sex-groups.

The Cumberland Presbyterian Church, with sixty-seven resident members, had no pastor at the time of the survey, and had not had a resident pastor for years. The membership is small, and the organization weak. The church lacks leaders as well as

good stewardship training. One of its prominent members said: "The only thing I have against the Gypsy Smith meetings is that too few of our people were reached. They need to be awakened to their responsibilities." Just now they are in communication with a student, but if they engage him it will be only for a monthly preaching service.

The Episcopal church is a mission, and has been since its organization thirteen years ago. Its membership, now nineteen, was at one time greater; but some families moved away.

In the village there are three colored churches, only one of which has a resident pastor. The Baptist church is stronger than either of the others, its membership numbering more than the other two together. The total resident membership of the three churches is 315, and ninety-three of the members live in the country. The total gain in membership for the three churches last year was only fifteen, the total loss was forty-five, making a net loss of thirty, caused chiefly by the exodus to the North.

The enrollment of the three Sunday schools is 198. Each church has a young people's organization and an active mission society. Two churches have two morning preaching services a month, and the other holds one service. All three held protracted meetings last year. The total salary paid by the three churches amounted last year to only $725. Two pastors serve three points and one pastor serves two.

In the open country about Wesson there are ten colored churches, including seven Baptist, one Methodist Episcopal, and two colored Methodist Episcopal. They are all one-room buildings, but in unusually good condition. They average one preaching service a month, at which the attendance usually outnumbers the membership. At Saints' Rest, which is the biggest Negro church in the county, located just east of Wesson in an old plantation village, as many as five hundred people sometimes attend service. They come from miles around. Not one of the ten Negro churches has a resident minister. Most of the ministers serve four points each and are usually untrained, poorly paid and overworked. They are called spiritual preachers. The salaries range from $100 to $500 from each church, and no pastor receives more than $1,000 for his services. These churches are better organized than most of the Negro churches studied in other communities; but either they have no records or their

records are incomplete, and no data on age-groups and sex-groups are available. The total resident membership numbers 1,242. None of these churches is pastorless. The churches are about the only gathering places for these people and they make the most of them. Distance traveled by the pastors to hold services is of minor consequence.

The Sunday schools are smaller than average. Preaching service is the important thing, and the children stay through all services. It is said that scarcely a colored person can be found who is not affiliated in some way with one of the churches.

In conclusion, Wesson is an old community with a plantation background and tradition. It considers itself highly moral, religious, intelligent and 100 per cent. southern and American.

It is just beginning to show a faint interest in the raising of something besides cotton; and a few persons are parting with excess acreage in order to develop its agricultural possibilities.

Wesson in general, however, is sleepy, unprogressive in business, sectarian in spirit, and neglectful of its young people.

There is no health program either in the county, in the school, or in the community. The colored schools are neglected and the colored people are generally left to shift for themselves.

Labor is scarce on the farms, and the white farmer is loath to become an active tiller of the soil. Through the coöperation of the Farm Bureau with the few progressives in the village, more improvements have been made in the last two years, it is said, than in the two decades preceding. In the two years Wesson has secured a new electric light plant, a new planing mill and a creamery. Thirty thousand dollars have been spent on road construction. Leaders in these enterprises are the first to declare that Wesson has a long way to go before it can be called a progressive community. The plantation background is rooted deeply in the community's makeup, but there are indications that changes are impending.

IV

PALESTINE

A Poor-Soil Town

Palestine[1] was founded in 1830 by Moravians who came in that year from one of the Colonial states. The village is in the Corn Belt, but in that section where yields per acre are not equal to the average. Land values therefore are low. Palestine's county stands at the top of the lowest fourth of counties in the state, judged by value of farm land per acre. The average acre in the Palestine community is worth only half as much as the average acre in the state. Furthermore, land value has risen slowly, as compared with the state as a whole, the increase in the 1910–1920 census period having been only 33 per cent., while the increase for the state was over 70 per cent. The community has raised less, sold less, and earned less than the average community in its state; but it has lived within its income and has been content. Taxes are low; but only a minimum of service is expected from the municipality. The village has no funded debt. The average wealth per household, obtained by raising assessed valuation to par,[2] was $2,700—one of the lowest figures obtained for the region.

STRUCTURE AND POPULATION

Palestine is the only town of any size in the northern part of its county, and therefore has sway over a considerable territory without serious opposition. The community extends seven miles east from the center of the village and the same distance west, three miles north and three miles south. With an area of ninety square miles, it is slightly smaller than the average community of the region, but considerably larger than the average for the

[1] The study of this village was made by Mrs. Helen Anderson Storey and Miss Esther Galbraith.

[2] See Chapter X, *American Agricultural Villages.*

other villages studied in the state. The farmers of this community do the bulk of their trading in Palestine and use the village as their social center besides.

The growth of the town is shown by the following Census figures:

Year	Pop.
1890	476
1900	700
1910	725
1920	946

This growth has been continued since 1920, and the population of the town is now nearly a thousand. The coming of two or three small industries, an influx of retired farmers, and the natural growth of population are the factors in this increase.

Although virtually all the people who settled in and about Palestine were of German birth, the proportion of foreign-born is fast decreasing. At present it is a scant 5 per cent., consisting almost entirely of retired farmers over forty-five years of age. The German churches have disappeared; the German language is almost forgotten; only the names bear witness to the former predominance of this nationality. The community might easily claim the "100 per cent. American" rating, as there are hardly any foreign-born at all in the open country.

As is frequently the case in small towns, there are more women than men in Palestine, the proportion being 53 per cent. women to 47 per cent. men. In the age-group from 21 to 44, this difference is still more marked, 55 per cent. of this group being women. The girls find work in the home; the boys, most of them, must go elsewhere for economic opportunity.

The average number of persons to a family in the village was 3.5 in 1920; but it is now only 3.0. The average for the region is 3.6. For the open country the figure is 3.8.[3] Many bachelors operate farms and live alone, which brings down the open-country average. In 172 of the 312 village homes, or 55 per cent. of them, there was no minor at the time of the survey; and in each of forty-seven others, or 15 per cent. of the total number, there was only one. Even in the open country, 34.5 per cent. of the 429 households had no child living at home, and 20 per cent. had

[3] In this study some data are included and certain comparisons are presented which are based upon a house-to-house census made in this community at the time of the survey.

only one child each. All told, one-third of the village population, or a total of 329 persons, were under twenty-one years of age, and the 707 open-country minors made up 43 per cent. of the county population.

Palestine village has little to recommend it in appearance, save for its central square or park planted with regular rows of maple trees and with Church Street running straight through it, and for its well-kept cemetery. The streets near the center of the town are fairly well lighted; on the outskirts they are quite lost in darkness, except at the entrance to the cemetery, where there are two large lights. There is no paving, even around the square. Some of the streets have sidewalks and a great many of them do not; some compromise with a sidewalk on one side only. The only really modern public building is the Christian church, built about ten years ago with the generous financial assistance of the town's leading merchant. The other churches are old-fashioned and quite inadequate for their thriving Sunday schools. The school building is old, worn and too small. Dwelling houses are unpretentious for the most part, and without modern improvements, although a few of the town's wealthier men have built themselves pleasant and convenient homes.

THE OPEN COUNTRY

The open country consists of irregular, somewhat hilly, wooded areas alternating with flat fields as the bottoms of the White River and Judea Creek are approached. This bottom land is good for corn, wheat and hay. The rougher country is used for grazing, and the farmers eke out a living with dairying, poultry and live stock. Yet the farmers who are dairying and raising poultry come out best in the struggle for existence. But feeding and milking are laborious and confining occupations, and the average farmer prefers to get his money, when he can, from wheat, corn, hay and oats.

Truck-gardening is just beginning, especially the raising of tomatoes. The average crop of tomatoes is between five and six tons, yielding about $68 per acre. This sort of agricultural development may mean much to the community.

In the county there is an active Farm Bureau with about 250 members, of whom twenty live in Palestine community. Meet-

ings are frequent all over the county; and the organization of various clubs and the frequent bringing of good lecturers to different parts of the community are evidences of activity and service.

Neighborhoods have sprung up here and there in the community, especially in the west. Pennington has two stores and a school near by. Oaks consists of a strong country church with a cemetery; Maple Shade has a school and a store; Tomsville has two churches and a school. Six little country churches are scattered about in the western part of the community. Two Baptist churches close together bear witness to a church split, as do two Christian churches within a mile of each other. In each case, one of the pair is an ultra-conservative church whose congregations do not believe in Sunday school, or in having musical instruments in the church. That the country cannot well support the additional churches is shown by the fact that one of the Baptist churches is already closed, while one of the Christian churches has no pastor and only irregular services.

To the east is a neighborhood called Oklahoma, which has had the reputation of being rough. The Farm Bureau, which has organized clubs among the women and girls, and holds frequent community meetings in the schoolhouse, is doing good work there. Good speakers are obtained on occasion, and sometimes ministers go out from Palestine to preach. Prairie schoolhouse, which is southeast of the village, forms a community center in so far as it is used each Sunday for Sunday school. There are no churches in this eastern half of the community.

The farmers that live in Palestine community are of the "born and raised here" variety. They did not choose their dwelling place—they simply settled down and lived where their fathers had lived. The proportion of farm tenants, 25 per cent., is not large. Farms are not fertile enough to support more than one family. The village shows the same stability of population. Eighty-nine per cent. of the villagers were born in the state, as against an average for the Middle West of 71.4. The mothers of nearly 60 per cent. of the native-white population were born in the state. This average is double that for the region. Nearly half the village heads of households have lived in their present houses ten years or more, and 15 per cent. of them more than twenty years. In the country the comparable figures are 52.2 and

32.8 per cent. respectively—amazing figures in these days of agricultural unrest.

TOWN AND COUNTRY RELATIONS

Acton, fifty miles south, is the nearest big shopping center, and the people of Palestine community occasionally go there for good clothes and furniture. The village merchants have little other competition, except from the mail-order houses. There seems to be an exceptionally good feeling between town and country. This is perhaps because the village merchants see that their livelihood comes from the farmers, whom they are therefore willing to meet more than half way along any line whatever. Stores are kept open on Saturday night until ten o'clock or even later, to accommodate country people who come in for the band concerts and who may wish to shop or to pick up their bundles after the concerts are over.

These band concerts are very popular. They are held every Saturday night through the summer at the expense of the business men. One of the leading merchants, Mr. James Stocker, organized the band and keeps it together. At first it was composed entirely of local talent; but lately it has been necessary to import a few members from outside. Still it remains essentially a product of Palestine, and is available for celebrations and holidays.

The State Bank has two rooms in the rear of its building which are freely given for committee meetings of church or community enterprises. The Farm Bureau meets in one of these rooms and virtually makes the bank its headquarters.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

There are two banks in Palestine, both supported almost entirely by the farmers. During the last five years, checking and savings deposits have more than doubled. There is a Federal Land Bank agent.

The business of Palestine makes no urban pretensions. It is conducted obviously for the service of the farmer. Therefore the favorite type of store is the general store, at which everything can be bought, and where a liberal line of credit is extended.

Most of the business men are heavy buyers of eggs and poultry. With few exceptions the business men are active church-members and are interested in community projects. The Business Men's Association, organized two years ago, while not exactly dead, has been dormant rather too long for its health.

There are three industries—a brick yard, a tile yard and a light and ice manufacturing company. All together employ about thirty-eight men regularly, at an average wage of about $18 a week. The brick factory employs by far the larger number, and puts out as its product a good quality of corrugated brick of several different shades. The tile factory is small, employing a maximum of eight, and a regular force of three men. The ice and light company makes a good quality of artificial ice from distilled water and furnishes electricity for the village. It has not yet felt it practicable to furnish an all-day current, electricity being available only one or two mornings a week. One interesting feature of the economic life is that nearly half the males over sixty-five years of age are gainfully employed. For the region the average is 37.3 per cent. Economic necessity is usually judged responsible when this ratio is high; and judging by the low household wealth this interpretation is probably correct.

Politics, running in the main Republican, are influenced locally by local issues and the personality of the candidates. It is felt by some that church affiliations enter in. In the last election the issue was whether there should be a pool room or not; and the election went to candidates who came out flatly against it.

There is some feeling that liquor-selling and gambling are going on too freely, and that there is greater need for law enforcement.

The village budget is modest, being only $4,460 for 1924. Since 1916, however, it has almost doubled.

SOCIAL LIFE

The social life of Palestine centers to a large extent in its churches, with their organized Sunday-school classes and other societies. The high school has an active little society among the girls, called the Girls Olympian Club, in which the alumnæ take an interest. Apart from these there are four lodges, an American Legion, a W.C.T.U., a household science club, and a sewing

club which was organized by the Farm Bureau. The total membership of these clubs is 466, and their average yearly expenditure per member is $4.63.

The American Legion is active. It maintains a hall which other organizations also use. It makes itself responsible for all soldiers' graves in fifteen cemeteries in the northern half of the county. Beginning at sunrise last Decoration Day, services were held by the post at each of the fifteen cemeteries, and there was a union church service in Palestine in the evening. The Palestine Post has a 100 per cent. membership—every eligible man belongs.

All of the organizations have a high percentage of rural membership, ranging from 20 to 60 per cent., except the household science club, which has no country membership at all. This has changed from an open membership to one strictly limited to the leading women socially. The sewing club, which merely provides a short course in sewing, was organized by the Farm Bureau for girls from eight to twenty years of age.

There is no library. A Chautauqua and Lyceum have been kept up for several years, sometimes at a loss to the guarantors. This is especially true in the case of the Lyceum; and it is the high-school principal who most often puts his hand into his pocket to make up the deficit in this case. Movies are not looked upon with favor in the community. Possibly this is because it is a strong church town. The movie theater is the only auditorium of any size in the community, and is used for special meetings of various sorts. Movies are given regularly twice a week, with an average attendance of 109. Pictures are usually of a western character, and not of the best quality. Attendance has shown a decided decrease during the last two years, according to the owner of the theater.

HEALTH

There are two physicians in Palestine and there is one in the open country. No county nurse is maintained at present, although there was one until last year. The average resident seems inclined to explain the discontinuance of this service by finding fault with the nurse; but the fact is that the county did not raise enough money to support one.

Palestine has no city water supply; most of the water for all purposes comes from cisterns, as the well water is hard. There is no inspection of water or milk, except that the water of the school well is examined once a year by the state laboratory. Nevertheless, malaria, typhoid and summer fever, which used to be very prevalent, have decreased. Last year there were "only two or three light cases of typhoid." Most of the cisterns from which drinking water is obtained have carbon or brick filters. The decrease in malaria is locally accounted for by the oiling of the roads. A film of oil is washed off and drained away with every rain storm, and this coating on the surface of standing water prevents the growth of mosquitoes. Both town physicians commented on the comparative freedom of the village from venereal disease.

The nearest hospital is at Powell, about ten miles away. A projected tuberculosis clinic at Palestine was not established because there were not enough patients.

SCHOOLS

The first high school at Palestine was established by two Moravian pastors in December, 1856, and is described in the church diary as follows:

> To-day the Palestine High School commenced. Brother Paul began with the boys at 8 A.M., and I (Brother Vibert) with the girls at 2 P.M. There were seven boys and seven girls. The branches which we teach the pupils are: Arithmetic, History, Geography, Reading, Writing, Grammar, Orthography, Composition, Bible Instruction and Singing. The boys have three hours school every morning and the girls two hours every afternoon. The school is kept five days in the week. Brother Paul and I intend keeping it for three months and aid it for the purpose of starting the school.

The present public school was erected about forty years ago. Until seven years ago the high-school course was only two years. A four-year course was then started; but the high school still has only probationary recognition and is not accredited by the state university, for reasons that will appear presently.

The area taxed for the high school corresponds to Palestine precinct and includes a little less than thirty-four square miles.

It has an assessment value of $714,384; the school tax rate is $1.15, and the total school tax is $8,215.75. This represents a cost of $57.05 per pupil. The per pupil teaching cost in the high school is $64.00, as compared with an average of $93.69 in the region. The same figures for the grade schools are $20.24 and $31.15. The high school is called a "community high school," but it shares with the six upper grades in the use of an old building which is inadequate in space and equipment. The project of a new high school was voted down two years ago, mainly, it is said, by farmers and retired farmers.

There is no auditorium in the building. Only two rooms have electric light. The high school occupies six rooms, and the upper grades have the two remaining rooms and a one-room frame annex. The first and second grades meet in the old Moravian church, which was vacated in 1915, when the English and German congregations reunited. The old church has been divided by a lengthwise partition into two long, narrow rooms which have nothing to recommend them as school quarters for young children. Crowded into the inadequate space of these two buildings, 313 children are being taught. In the grades there are 169; and in the high school there are 144, of whom twenty-eight are tuition pupils from outside the high-school area.

Because of the crowded condition of the building, the curriculum is more limited than it should be; domestic science and manual training are not taught. Extra-curriculum activities are limited by the lack of a gymnasium and auditorium. Basketball is played in a rented hall; commencement exercises and entertainments are held in the "opera house," which is a moving picture theater.

Despite these handicaps, the spirit of the school is good. It has a remarkable number of home-grown teachers, which seems to contribute to an attitude of loyalty on the part of both teachers and students. But this feature has disadvantages, since the instructors bring less acquaintance with other places and conditions than an imported staff might bring.

The salary scale at Palestine is a proof of the loyalty of the teaching force; the superintendent, a college graduate with twenty years of experience, is paid $1,500 a year; the principal, a teacher of twenty-three years' experience, whose personal qualities and influence in the community are of the best, receives $1,400; the

average salary paid is exactly $1,000. These figures are among the very lowest for villages studied in the Middle West, in which region the average teacher's salary was $1,365.

Of the last graduating class of thirty-two, seven have gone to college or other higher schools, four have appointments to teach rural schools next year, and several others have teaching certificates.

The school does not function as a social center, because the unattractive old building does not provide adequate space. The house-to-house canvass in the village showed fifty-six suggestions that a better high school should be built; in the country only four persons recorded a similar wish.

Of the numerous rural schools in the Palestine community only one is of brick, and none has equipment for hot lunches. There are no musical instruments. The average attendance at the rural schools was 18.1 persons. The school at Roy is to be closed next year because there are no pupils. The average school year was 146.2 days, considerably below the average for the region. The salaries of the district school teachers are very low, ranging from $420 to $700, and averaging $539. A little criticism of some of the rural schools is heard among the farmers, the fault being usually lack of discipline.

CHURCHES

Among the Palestine churches the Moravian stands first, on account of the prestige of its early foundation. It was established in 1844, and in 1849 had 103 members. In that year Moravians from Saxony began to come to the settlement. They added to the strength of the church but brought with them the difficult question of language. After an attempt to compromise, the English-speaking and the German-speaking Moravians separated in 1858 into two independent congregations. But the foreign-born generation and the language difficulty passed with the years, so that in 1915 the two Moravian churches were again able to become simply the Moravian Church of Palestine. At present its membership exceeds by 25 per cent. that of the Christian church. Its pastor presides over the local ministerial council.

The other churches in the village are the Christian, the Evangelical (originally German), the Methodist Episcopal, and the

Free Methodist. There are six country churches in the community, five denominations being represented. Two of the country churches have preaching services every other Sunday, three have services once a month. Macedonia Baptist, about two miles west of town, has been inactive for more than a year; but some of the country people report themselves as members of it though they attend other churches. There is also a union Sunday school, which is held at Prairie schoolhouse.

The congregations named have in all 1,264 members, of whom 503 live in the village and 761 in the country. Excluding children under fourteen years of age, 62.4 per cent. of all the people of the community are church-members. The percentage is somewhat higher for the village (65.6) than for the open country (60.5). Of the village church-members 63 per cent. are females.

A comparison of the age-groups in the village, as shown by the 1920 Census corrected to agree with a recent school census, and the age-groups of church-members who are village residents, shows the following percentages:

Age-group	*Per Cent. in Church-membership (Communicants)*
Boys 14–20	62.
Males 21–44	48.6
Males 45 and over	53.6
Girls 14–20	79.4
Females 21–44	71.2
Females 45 and over	79.9

A further analysis of the church-membership, to find the proportion of each age-group and sex-group to the corresponding group in the village population of churchgoing age, gives the following results:

Age-group	Males		Females	
	Per Cent. in Population	*Per Cent. in Church-membership*	*Per Cent. in Population*	*Per Cent. in Church-membership*
14–21	7.6	7.2	8.9	10.8
21–44	18.2	13.5	22.7	24.6
45 and over	19.9	16.3	22.7	27.6
All groups	45.7	37.0	54.3	63.1

A large proportion (32.3 per cent.) of the members of the village churches live in the open country. The Methodist Episcopal church has the highest percentage of country members (45 per cent.), possibly because there is no country congregation of this denomination. The Moravian church has the largest number of country members: seventy-nine.

It is interesting to find that among the heads of households, proportionately more home owners than tenants are church-members. Thus in the village the proportion is 77 per cent. for the owners, as against 59 per cent. for tenants. In the open country the respective figures are 62 per cent. and 50 per cent. It is also interesting to note that in the house-to-house census the number of persons who claimed membership in the churches was greater than the total membership according to the church records. Many who did not claim membership classed themselves as adherents.

The total sum raised by the eleven churches in the community last year was $17,493.15; of which amount $14,317.25 was raised by the village churches. The per capita contributions of the village churches ranged from $13.28 to $26.52; only that of the Moravian being above $14. The country churches ranged from $4.02 to $9.49.

Sectarianism is not as strong in either the open country or the village as it often is in similar communities. A number of country people, differing in their church-membership, explained to surveyors that they sometimes attended one church, sometimes another, going "anywhere to hear a good sermon." In the village, a striking piece of coöperation has introduced into the public school a class for those who may volunteer for weekly instruction in religion. The pastors or representatives of four churches (Moravian, Evangelical, Christian and Methodist Episcopal) have each a section for half an hour. The textbook is a life of Christ, copies of which were supplied by the four churches mentioned.

A council of the village ministers meets at need to discuss problems and policies. Socials and entertainments are scheduled to avoid conflicting dates and are very generally attended by members of the different churches. Once a year the Moravian and Christian young people have a social together. Union services are held on Memorial Day and on Baccalaureate Sunday at the Christian church, which has the most modern and spacious build-

ing. The attendance was about three hundred at the first and about seven hundred at the second of these.

In spite of these excellent relations, the village churches are not entirely free from jealousy and sectarian feeling. On the whole, however, a remarkable degree of friendliness seems to prevail.

Palestine then ranks high in its appeal to the open-country population, having an unusually high percentage of rural members in its churches and in its schools and social organizations. It is a town for farmers, with no "citified" pretensions. It also gives loyal support to the churches, and there is excellent coöperation among them. It has the reputation of being a conservative little town, but thorough—always determined to finish what it once begins, but careful about beginning anything it may not be able to finish.

The contributions of the Palestine churches to missions for the past year amounted to nearly $6,000, almost 50 per cent. more than the cost of the town government for the year. The school-teachers are miserably underpaid, and the high-school building long ago outgrew its usefulness. The churches have frowned upon movies and have kept a pool room out of the community; but they have failed to furnish for its boys and young men the recreational outlets that might keep them from idling on the streets and getting into mischief. Neither have they considered the girls' need for a good time. The favorite recreations of the young reflect this situation. Reading was mentioned by all groups more than all other pastimes combined. For the men, fishing and hunting, music, visiting, and loafing came next in order; for the women, visiting, working, or resting.

The town is, however, not overorganized, and need have no problems of overlapping to solve when it decides to organize to meet its needs.

It is exceptional in that almost alone of all villages studied in the Middle West, it had not suffered to any appreciable degree from the agricultural depression. Its soil was not fertile enough to attract the man who desired big yields, nor to entice the speculator. Except that the Farmers Union overstocked some items, and hence took a loss when the depression came, the community escaped virtually unscathed. The absence of mounting land values spared the farmer an increased capitalization upon his

acres, and thus saved him increased taxes and interest charges. The decline in values was one-third; but as few farms had been sold little harm was done. Palestine profited by the war-time prices while they lasted; but when these ended the people were left with no accumulated debt; and the difference between conditions before the boom and afterward was slight in comparison with many another Corn Belt village. The depression meant hope deferred to Palestine; to Stalkton, described in the last study, it meant complete readjustment.

V

STALKTON

A Tall-Corn Community

One of the most striking things in the history of Stalkton[1] is that its misfortunes as well as its prosperity are traceable to the exceptional fertility of its surrounding farmland. This story of wealth that brought the community to the verge of disaster has been summed up in a few words by one of Stalkton's older citizens: "I came here when land sold for $5 an acre or less and I have lived to see the same land sell for $500 and over." At the time when this remark was made land prices had crumbled in the collapse following the boom of 1920, and were just beginning to get a foothold on the road back to normal.

HISTORY

Stalkton's eventful history has been crowded into the short period of fifty-six years. It began in 1868 with the westward migration of returning Civil War veterans eagerly seeking new homes where they might build up their lost fortunes. Pamphlets describing the fine unsettled acres in the northern part of this Corn Belt state had been sent broadcast throughout the country, and a stream of prairie schooners soon began to thread its way toward the new region.

The first arrivals in the place where Stalkton now stands found the only marks of civilization to be the stakes marking the railroad's right of way, which had just been surveyed, and the stakes marking the section lines. The first building was a shack that served as hotel and store for the schooner passengers. In 1870 the railroad was built, and in 1871 a station was established. That year settlement began in earnest. Land was selling for from $3 to $10 an acre according to the distance from the rail-

[1] The survey of Stalkton was made by Miss Marjorie Patten and Miss Sabra Briggs. Miss Patten is the author of this study.

road. "A hundred-acre farm was what they wanted"; and the settlement continued to stretch westward.

In 1873 came a native of Sweden sent from Chicago as agent for the sale of railroad lands. News of the rich country soon spread to Sweden, Denmark and Germany; and a great number came over on money sent from the Stalkton colony. With the influx of settlers came a need for a nearer trading center than Thunder Lake, the county seat, and Stalkton's Main Street began to grow. The first station-agent served as lumberman, implement dealer and grain buyer. Three years later he established the first newspaper.

In 1876 the village was incorporated; and that year a blacksmith built a shop and residence, and a law firm and a physician opened their offices on Main Street. By 1878 Stalkton had a bank which later became one of the chain of branch banks operated by the Farmers Loan and Trust Co. In 1883 a second bank was organized.

DISASTERS

During the settlement period the community had suffered many losses in spite of the fact that, from the first, the land was highly productive. In 1876 a scourge of grasshoppers all but destroyed the harvest. In 1877 a terrific hail storm caused many to become discouraged and move away. There was no protection from the prairie winds in winter, and often people and cattle froze to death. Despite the discouragements, the colonists held on, planted groves of cottonwoods to protect their homes, and gradually increased the yielding acreage of their farms.

In 1880 Stalkton's business section was burned to the ground, and in 1893 a second fire destroyed ten business houses; but from these ruins rose a better and more substantial village. Then came the cyclone, which is still well remembered as one of Stalkton's greatest catastrophes. Many houses were destroyed and much stock was lost. And the first chapter ends here at the beginning of a long period of general good fortune for the whole community interspersed with some disasters.

A NEW START

The second chapter begins with the rapid development of agriculture and a growing interest in intensive farming. The ups

and downs of the first twenty-five years had been met with courage. The soil was as rich as any in the state. The land was supplied with natural drainage. Land values were increasing and production was on the gain. In 1896 the village put in its electric light plant and water works, and in 1904 a municipal heating plant was installed. All of these improvements were made possible by the coöperative effort of the people who raised the funds and were repaid in service. From 1893 to 1919, Stalkton was blessed with a rare prosperity. There was plenty of money in circulation. Good roads made hauling easy and adequate railroad facilities developed the community as a shipping center. Close village and country relationships extended the trade area until it covered 124 square miles. Stalkton's stores served the farmers living eight miles to the south, including the German neighborhood of Holdon, thirteen miles to the north, four miles to the west, and three miles to the east, where the county-seat trade area began. The stores offered the farmers an extended credit and served them so well that, in spite of the close competition of the larger stores in the county seat, the Stalkton merchants were able to hold their own. They sent trucks out to the north and south, and in one neighborhood a branch store had been opened where farmers were paid for their produce either in cash or in trade checks redeemable at the village store. Mail-order business has never been large in the area.

RURAL IMMIGRANTS

One of the most prosperous sections of Stalkton was the German community of Holdon. Some of the farmers living here have been here since 1880, when they came direct from Germany. They built up a clannish community, holding fast to the old German tradition. Holdon has its own church, valued at $10,000. Its full-time, resident pastor has served the community for forty years and is one of the largest landowners and one of the wealthiest farmers in the community. Holdon has succeeded in keeping its young people at home on the farms, has shrewdly bought up the lands which its northern neighbors were unable to hold, and has remained level-headed throughout its thrifty existence. The manner of living in Holdon is typified by the following: On one farm in this section the wife has saved enough money from her

poultry and eggs to build a model poultry house. During one month she sold more than 10,000 eggs, and boasted that she made more from her hens than her husband made from his cattle and hogs. She owned more than 3,000 hens, and they were housed in electrically lighted coops. The barns also were equipped with all kinds of modern improvements. Three automobiles were parked in the spacious garage; yet the house, in which the family lived, was the original old cabin, poorly painted and without modern conveniences, and lighted only by oil lamps. Holdon's farms, however, were considered 20 per cent. more prosperous than the average for the Stalkton section.

POPULATION DATA

Between 1900 and 1920, Stalkton's population slowly increased. In 1900 it was 867; in 1910 it was 959, and by 1920 it was 1290—the increase being almost wholly caused by the farmers retiring and moving in to the village, leaving their sons to operate their thrifty farms. The 1920 Census reported over 40 per cent. of the village males as unemployed, and 49 per cent. of them over twenty-one years of age, which gives some indication of the strength of the retired-farmer element in Stalkton. Of the total population, 290, or 23 per cent., were foreign-born; and nearly four-fifths of them came to the community prior to 1900. Eighty-five per cent. were naturalized, a figure ten points higher than the regional average. Of the 76.9 per cent. native-born, 40.7 per cent. were of native parentage, 24.9 per cent. of foreign parentage, and 11.2 per cent. of mixed parentage. Nearly three-fourths of the native-born were born in the state, a larger average than that of the Middle West as a whole.

Native-born females outnumbered the native-born males by over 100, while the foreign-born males outnumbered the foreign-born females by 37. Of the 399 families, only 35 per cent. lived in rented homes in 1920, and only twenty-four of the occupant-owned homes were encumbered.

The estimated country population of Stalkton was 2,255, only about 13 per cent. of which was foreign-born. A large number of the farms, especially those to the north of the village, were operated by a second generation of American-born sons of erstwhile Scandinavian farmers. Over half of the total number of

farms were operated by tenants, 36 per cent. of them foreign-born. Sixty-two per cent. of the farm owners were American-born.

AGRICULTURAL PROGRESS

The agricultural growth of the community during the twenty-year-period may best be shown by a comparison of farm statistics in the county as a whole for those years. There were fewer farms in the county in 1910 than in 1900, and in 1920 there were not quite a hundred more than in 1900. In spite of this fact, the increase in the value of all farm property between 1900 and 1910 was over 113 per cent., though there were 10,000 fewer acres of land in farms in the county. The value of land per acre rose from $36.09 in 1900 to $86.80 in 1910, and to $277.76 in 1920. A still greater contrast is found in the increase in the value of all farm property which jumped from $18,606,960 in 1900 to the amazing figure of $120,634,957 in 1920.

Similar increases for the three periods were found in the value of buildings, of machinery and implements, and of live stock, as is shown in the following table:

	Value of			
Year	*Farm Land*	*Buildings*	*Machinery and Implements*	*Live stock*
1900	$13,001,470	$ 2,306,120	$ 562,610	$2,736,760
1910	30,316,392	4,599,384	1,070,775	3,674,751
1920	97,625,986	11,899,243	4,078,488	7,031,240

Increases as large as these indicate a considerable amount of building in the country during the long period of prosperity. Only about one-fourth of the farm buildings were of the old pioneer type. Many of the homes were little less pretentious than those in the village. Some of them were supplied with electricity and labor-saving appliances. Modern farm machinery and automobiles were a part of the necessary equipment of virtually every household. With the increase of income, living expenses increased. Farm machinery and implements in the county increased in value from a little over half a million dollars to more than four million during the twenty-year period.

The growing market for corn and hogs, the leading sources of income, increased the bank deposits. In 1905 the first bank

was reorganized as the First National; and in 1909 the second bank, organized in 1883, became the State Bank of Stalkton. While three-hundred-acre corn fields were planted, and acres and acres of alfalfa, and while the farmers were reaping their rich harvests from a soil that was "sixteen feet deep with never a pebble," the village itself began to reflect the general agricultural prosperity. The homes that were built were almost suburban in appearance. Lawns and flower beds were planted. An annual clean-up week was introduced, and a community effort was set on foot for the beautification of the village. Homes were equipped with modern conveniences and nearly every one had its thrifty little vegetable patch. Stalkton took on a new air of sophistication. People talked of recent visits to Chicago and "back east," and of wintering in Florida and California.

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

Strong institutions were built up. In 1915 came the consolidation of the schools, and Stalkton built one of the finest school buildings in the state. The proposition met with very little real opposition; and soon afterward a similar project was discussed for the two districts to the north. Scandinavian farmers were strongly opposed to this plan but finally they were won over, and each district was bonded for $25,000. Two fine eight-room school buildings were the result, and they became the social as well as the educational centers for the districts. Both were equipped with manual training and domestic science departments, and with gymnasiums which served as assembly rooms for community affairs. The village school has twenty-four rooms, including auditorium, library, gymnasium, domestic science and manual training departments, and has a large, well-planned and well-equipped playground.

Prosperous farms also brought about better financial conditions in the churches. The three strong churches—Methodist, Presbyterian and Swedish Lutheran—grew stronger. Each had a resident pastor who was able and progressive, and a large membership from both country and village; and the churches were looked upon by the community as its leading institutions. There were three other churches in Stalkton that were weak, and that became weaker. This was inevitable, for the younger members

of the Danish Mission and those of the Swedish Free Mission were gradually drifting into the stronger American churches. Just a few of the older members continued to worship according to the old customs and failed to understand why the services in a foreign tongue no longer appealed to their children. The third small congregation—the Assembly of God group—had never been strong, was poor financially, had no regular leader, and the organization was slowly dying.

In 1912 a community hospital was opened. It was organized by local physicians who donated $1,000 from their own pockets, a like sum being solicited from the citizens of the community. From this small beginning, with the financial help of local clubs, a house was purchased and gradually equipped.

The Farm Bureau was well organized; and through it the farmers were buying and selling on a coöperative basis. There were two coöperative shipping associations—one for cattle and hogs, and the other for grain and feed. Dairying was growing as an industry, and four cream stations were doing an increasing business. A coöperative creamery and an elevator had been established.

THE LAND BOOM

And in the midst of this normal growing prosperity came the land boom. One leading farmer, interviewed after it was all over, said: "In 1919 we were all millionaires; now we are broke and most of us don't know it." Between 1919 and 1924, Stalkton passed through a feverish period of land speculation. Here were farms averaging 160 acres, ranging in size from forty to 480 acres of some of the richest land in the state. One acre could produce from seventy-five to eighty bushels of corn. Already the prices were good; but suddenly they began to soar.

Sky-rocket prices turned the heads of even those who had lived conservative, thrifty lives. They sold and bought land for as high as $525 an acre. One sixty-acre farm sold for $675 an acre. Many men who owned farms sold all they had and moved into the village, where they built fine homes with their paper fortunes. Some who caught the fever not only held on to their own land but bought still more. Some land changed hands five or six times during the first year of the boom. There was no one to

hold back the speculators; for even the bankers had apparently lost their sense of caution. If a farmer asked to borrow $1,000 he was urged to take $5,000.

The story was told of a farm tenant who went to the bank to borrow $1,500 for the purchase of tools. The banker said, "You can have $15,000 if you want it." And before the man left he had borrowed $19,000.

Farmers were swept off their feet. They were easy prey for companies that saw an opportune time for floating wildcat stocks. There were men who sold their lands at top prices and invested all they had made in stocks about which they knew nothing.

Corn had reached $2.25 a bushel; and the whole county believed it would never fall below $1.00 again. Ordinary hogs brought $50; registered thoroughbreds averaged $300 a head. At a sales pavilion eleven miles from Stalkton, one hog sold for $1,500; and the sale of four that day brought $4,000. White Elephant pigs raised on a certain farm sold at that time for $334 a head.

The interest in dairying slumped. There was no time to milk cows when a life's fortune could be made in a day on land. A period of luxury set in. One automobile was not enough in a household. New farm machinery was purchased, though that already owned by most farmers was adequate for the need. It was said that during the period of land inflation there were enough hogs shipped out of the state to reach across the continent in carloads and across the ocean into Europe.

THE BOOM BURSTS

Then, without any warning, like an air-bubble, the boom collapsed. Stalkton was dazed. Fortunes that had taken a lifetime to earn were lost overnight. Farms began to go back to their original owners. Many a wealthy farmer who had moved to town, and who now lived in a fine new house, had to take any kind of an odd job that came his way in order to hold on to his property. The coöperative creamery failed.

THE DEFLATION

The extent of the deflation is shown in the census figures. In 1920 the value of farm land and buildings in the county was approximately $109,525,000. Five years later it was barely

$65,000,000, a drop of 40.7 per cent. Land value alone decreased more than $44,000,000, a fall of 45.2 per cent. During the same period, the number of farm-owner operators decreased more than 5 per cent., while tenants increased by the same ratio.

In the circumstances it is no wonder that at the time of the survey both the banks were in a precarious condition. The men in charge, though they had encouraged the farmers to borrow, were not blamed for the farmers' losses. They had prided themselves on the fact that there was not a man in the community to whom they could not lend money. But when the Federal Reserve funds were suddenly called in, they could not collect. Both banks would have failed had not many of the stockholders "gone broke" to save them.

When the First National Bank closed its doors at four o'clock one Saturday afternoon, it was not known whether or not it could open them on Monday morning. During the week-end, however, the bank changed hands and enough money was loaned to the new head to keep the institution going. The other bank also was saved by this reorganization.

Stalkton firmly believes that Wall Street power caused the deflation by forcing the Federal Reserve banks to call in the funds they had placed throughout the Middle West, and that the call was made purposely at a time when the local banks could not meet it. At the time of the study, farmers through this part of the country were wary of all ventures. There was talk of hard times; yet, true to their tradition, they were not wholly discouraged. They were dazed; but they were attempting to keep up their war-time manner of living. Some believed that the lavish spending of the boom days had had a greater influence than the deflation of prices in bringing about their downfall. At the Farmers' Elevator one heard such remarks as these: "The farmer must adjust himself." "There should be some equalization of prices, but that alone will not satisfy the men who are kicking. They want everything made easy for them to speculate again." The more matter-of-fact farmers felt that the time had come to get back to real work, to give up the new automobile, the expensive farm machinery, and the other luxuries. They said: "We had better produce only what we can without help, and then use what we produce." But in general farmers were having difficulty in getting back to pre-war farming. They preferred not to milk

cows. Few were convinced that the adjustment must start at home.

One Saturday evening the members of a farm family were discussing their shopping as they stood by the curb. The wife said: "We have to buy groceries to-night. School starts next week, and the children must have new shoes. I have on the only dress I own, and you see what condition it is in." The husband said: "Yes, but we have *got* to buy gasoline, and we can't *charge that.*" This conversation gives something of the attitude of the farmer toward the village store. Cash was not paid for any merchandise that the merchant would charge. This long-time credit system made it difficult for the merchant to keep fresh stock on the shelves; and the Stalkton stores suffered from the lenient credit system more than from competition with near-by towns.

Stalkton merchants had not learned the advantages of coöperation. There was considerable overlapping. They had no working organization to forward their plans for growth. There were, however, two business men's groups carrying overlapping programs. The first had been organized as a purely business club, and as such had done some good work. Then it had opened its membership to farmers; and it was said that from that time it had gradually become inactive. Any motion for village improvement was voted down by a certain group of retired farmers. The clubrooms became loafing places, and the "wrong element became the strong element." Finally, matters came to a head. The Kiwanis in Thunder Lake was trying to extend its trade area into Stalkton's territory. Stalkton could not afford to lose either its trade or the farmers' friendship. To keep both, and to launch some new projects, the business men formed an organization of their own. Through its efforts, band concerts were introduced, help was given to the Parent-Teacher Association, which was just being organized, and the community house received new backing. A paving project and other civic improvements were discussed. But both business groups became weak through lack of strong leadership; and in 1924 they were little more than social clubs.

The social and economic structure of Stalkton had been shattered by the boom. Business was slow; and there was not money with which to pay old bills or to buy new goods. There was no enthusiasm for new ventures. In 1921 the opera house had burned, leaving the village with no adequate auditorium for

community affairs. A joint project had been undertaken by the American Legion and the village authorities to erect a community house to be used for the Legion activities, for the library, for village officials, as a moving picture theater, and for other community purposes. It had been agreed that both the town and the Legion should have deeds to the property, each paying for the construction and equipment of specified parts of the building, ownership of which was to revert to the town in fifty years, or sooner if the Legion should fail to keep up its organization. At the time of the survey, Stalkton was slowly erecting this community house with an almost entire lack of enthusiasm. There was doubt as to the possibility of maintenance after its completion. There were a few optimistic individuals who believed "it might possibly work out."

SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

One reason for the doubt as to the success of the enterprise lay in the social make-up of Stalkton at this time. The community was divided by an amazing number of independent groups. There were forty-four social organizations, not including those connected with the church and the school. There had been splits in both the men's clubs and the Legion. There were eighteen purely social clubs with limited memberships. Formerly a woman's community club of 100 members had carried on a real program. Lagging interest had caused its death; and then had sprung up many little cliques, some of them largely family affairs with no special aim other than not to be left behind. Nine lodges were active, five for men and four for women, with a total membership of nearly 700. There were twenty-two church groups with a membership nearly 1,000 strong. The total enrollment of the social, church and school organizations was 2,808, a figure only 25 per cent. smaller than the total town and country population.

Twenty-two social groups reported a total expenditure of $6,075.22, an average per capita expense of $5.15. This was a higher average than that for the area, which was $4.50. Twenty-two other organizations with no working program had no expenditure to speak of. The only club for women interested in civic affairs was one that had been organized since 1894. This group had fostered the library project and had started the Ceme-

tery Association; but in 1924 even this club had ceased to manifest any special interest in civic improvement. Stalkton was undoubtedly overorganized. For the Middle West communities the average number of organizations per village was 24.8. In Stalkton there were nearly twice that number; and in the average number of purely social clubs it exceeded the Middle Western average four times.

This disjointed social life, the ultra-conservatism of certain retired farmers, and the low morale following the land deflation were counted as the three greatest obstacles in the way of progress in Stalkton in 1924.

THE CHURCHES

However, church and school had suffered little. The churches had held their own chiefly because they had always stood as the leading institutions in the community. Three of them had well-organized programs, long-established loyalties, and ministers who were community leaders. The strongest church was the Swedish Lutheran; and its members had not speculated heavily during the boom. Its enrollment numbered nearly 600, almost one-half of the total membership of all six village churches. Then, too, the men in the Methodist and Presbyterian churches were organized and the brotherhoods were noted among the most influential groups in Stalkton. By their schedule the community's social life was regulated. They were a force not only in religious circles but in civic and educational affairs as well. The Brotherhoods had broken down town and country barriers, had minimized denominational differences, and had been influential in the development of the community's leadership. Another reason for the virility of the churches lay in the fact that a large membership netted a larger than average budget on a smaller per number contribution.

The total disbursements in 1924 were $17,411, in spite of the cry of hard times. Thirty-one per cent. was spent for salaries, 39 per cent. for missions and benevolences. In the average per capita contribution per communicant member for all purposes was found a possible result of the deflation. It amounted to only $18.46, a figure lower than the area average and not higher than that of many other poorer communities.

The total valuation of the Stalkton churches amounted to $55,400. The total resident members of the six organizations numbered 1,196, of whom 56 per cent. lived in the country. Farm people made up nearly three-fourths of the Swedish Lutheran congregation; and it was significant that of the seventy-four members gained in 1924 by the three stronger churches, over two-thirds joined the Swedish Lutheran church. The appeal to the various age-groups and sex-groups is shown in the following table, which shows that even though the men were well organized in the churches, the women, as usual, led in membership by a large majority.

	In the Population		In the Church-membership	
Age-Groups	Male	Female	Male	Female
10 years of age and over:	%	%	%	%
Under 21	9.6	11.2	9.0	14.5
21–44	19.8	21.2	12.4	24.4
45 and over	18.9	19.3	14.9	24.8
Total	48.3	51.7	36.3	63.7

There were twenty-two church organizations: eight for women, two for men, four for girls, three for boys, and five groups for both boys and girls. Their total membership was 974. As has been stated, the men's groups were among the strongest influences for good in the community, and they included nearly 200 men. The boys' clubs, though new, were very active. The Sunday schools were strong and well organized, with social as well as religious programs. It was said by leading Presbyterian church-members that their new church building was "a result of an increasing need, for in the old building the growing young people's groups had crowded the older people out." Nearly 25 per cent. of the church-members in the village were under twenty-one years of age, 37 per cent. being between twenty-one and forty-four, and 39 per cent. forty-five or over. Through joint meetings of the older and the younger groups, barriers had gradually disappeared. Often one brotherhood entertained the other, and sometimes the boys attended the men's meetings. Of the sixty villages studied in the Middle West, none was better organized by the churches in all age-groups and sex-groups than was Stalkton.

In the open country there were only three active churches, the Danish, the German, and the Swedish Lutheran, three others hav-

ing been abandoned as the village and country became more closely related. The three still active had 417 members. These, with the country members of the village churches, made a total of 1,378, or 61 per cent. of the estimated country population. One of the country churches was served from Stalkton by a pastor who received a total salary of $2,000. The pastor of the Holdon church received $1,500, as has been stated. The Danish pastor, though he lived in the country, served in the Stalkton church also, and received a salary of $1,200 a year.

Stalkton is unusual in that the average salary of the open-country pastors is $1,350, and in that all three of the stronger village churches paid their pastors at least $2,000 a year for their services.

THE SCHOOLS

Stalkton had also been able to hold its educational prestige in spite of the economic depression. The total school disbursements in 1924 amounted to $77,870.76, 43 per cent. of which amount was spent for teachers' salaries. A comparison of expenditure in 1916 with those of 1924 shows that teachers' salaries, as well as total expenditures, increased nearly three-fold during the eight-year period. In 1924 the average salary paid to grade teachers was $1,158, and to high-school teachers $1,541. With the exception of the teachers in the music and the commercial courses, all of the high-school teachers had received at least eight years of training beyond the eighth grade. The teaching cost per pupil amounted to $47.96 in the grades, and to $130.59 in the high school. The average salary paid to village school-teachers in both grade and high school in Stalkton was $1,455, a larger average than that for the area as a whole, which amounted to $1,365. The average teaching cost per pupil in the two schools was also considerably higher than the average for the area.

In 1924 there were in all 432 pupils, of whom 314 were in the grades. Forty-two per cent. of the entire number were farm boys and girls who were brought into the village school in twelve buses at public expense. Athletics were a popular feature of the program of the school, which boasted many pennants and several cups won in games throughout the county. The building was used for community gatherings, for Farm Bureau meetings, for lecture courses, and occasionally for movies.

Three-fifths of the pupils were of Scandinavian, 15 per cent. of Danish, and 25 per cent. of American parentage.

Disheartenment was greatest in the country. But there was little or none in Holdon, where the farmers were still prosperous. This neighborhood felt the boom less than any other part of the Stalkton community. The shrewd farmers had not speculated. Their money was not in the local banks. Some said that they had hidden it safely away in the ground near their homes. The greed for quick gains made no appeal to the large landowners, who believed in letting well enough alone. The result was that 1924 found the neighborhood thriving, with 60 per cent. of its farms clear of debt. During the year 1923–24 the church here gave $4,000 to missions and benevolences, paid its pastor his regular salary of $1,500, and two parochial school-teachers a total of $2,200. In addition to this, it sent $4,000 to the general building fund for theological seminaries. There was a membership of about eighty families, and the attendance at services was said at times to exceed 600. In the two parochial schools connected with the church there were over seventy children enrolled in 1924. The church was the social, religious and community center for the entire Holdon neighborhood.

WHAT OF THE FUTURE?

On the whole, community life in Stalkton had slowed down at the time when the study was made. The key attitude, however, was one of hope, of waiting for better days. Stalkton had taken the boom as it had taken other crises in its varied existence. Its spirit was not broken, and it had met its losses with a courage worthy of its tradition. Its greatest confidence still lay in the land. Church and school were carrying on with an assured future. The village was holding on to its trade in spite of strong competition, and of a long list of debtors on its store books.

The community was slowly moving on the road back to normal. The creamery had been independently reorganized, and had between 200 and 250 regular patrons. In 1923 it made 70,000 pounds of butter.

The Farmers Elevator Co. took $195,939.91 to the bank in 1923. Its total assets were $61,272.66. The 1924 profits

amounted to $12,810.62 and the total expenses to $7,166.95, leaving a net profit of $5,643.67.

The railroad agent reported that a larger business was being done by Stalkton over its one railway than by the county seat over its three. In 1923 Stalkton alone shipped 482 cars of grain and 664 cars of hogs and cattle.

A movement had been started to organize a corn growers' association; but the farmers were still wary, and many believed that the organization was connected with a Wall Street scheme to get control of the elevators.

The banks were regaining the confidence of the countryside. One bank reported 90 per cent., and the other 75 per cent., of its business done with the farmers. The village itself did not allow one to guess that it was in straightened circumstances. The casual visitor would probably have been given the impression that here was a very prosperous village, unless perhaps he had examined the books and stocks in the stores and had become aware of the lack of enthusiasm along the main street. New buildings were in the process of erection. They included a new Presbyterian church, the community house, and two new business blocks, which were being erected by the only surviving homesteader living in Stalkton, now a wealthy owner of 4,000 acres of land.

The policy of the village government was conservatively progressive, and there was a goodly sum in the local treasury. The total village expenditures amounted to $32,157.14, a figure exceeding that of 1916 by nearly $10,000. The assessed valuation of Stalkton was $291,140.00 in 1924.

In 1918 land and crop valuations were about normal. The boom carried land values up to nearly three times the normal figure, and the corn prices rose two and a half times the figure of 1918. After the crash, the same tendency of rapid change in land prices continued, but in the opposite direction. They dropped at a far more rapid rate than did the corn prices, for there was no sale for lands while production continued as before. The corn still grew tall and fat hogs were being shipped to Chicago at steadily increasing prices. Out of the boom came a steadied community—debt ridden, but sure of its ultimate recovery and dominated by the same spirit that marked its pioneer beginning in the days of the prairie schooner.

VI

LINCOLN

A Dairying Center

In 1869 the St. Paul and Pacific Railroad built a line across the virgin prairie of Minnesota west of St. Paul, and laid out the town of Lincoln.[1] Strategically located in the center of the county, this place in one year became the county seat and acquired a hotel, a grain elevator, a United States land office, a post office and a newspaper. The surrounding country was then a land of wheat; and the town's rapid growth was shown by its erection of three grain elevators in the first seventeen years. In 1920 the census reported a population of 2,790, which, at the time of the Institute's survey in July, 1924, had increased to approximately 2,850.

The people assert that severe drought is unknown in this part of the country and consequently that they have never had a crop failure; but it was estimated that there were ten times as many foreclosures in the vicinity in 1923 and 1924 as in all the preceding twenty years. Inflated land values and the calling in of loans just as the bottom dropped out of the market were said to account for this condition, which has resulted in a large increase in tenantry.

Lincoln is entirely a farmer's town. Seventy-five per cent. of its economic life is based upon agriculture; and even its industries, which employ only 130 at the peak of the season, are dependent on the soil and its products. The absence of definite neighborhood groups within the community, an area of roughly 110 square miles, proves that the farmers go to the village for their trading and for their social life. They are drawn there by the general attractiveness of the town, and by the good roads leading to it, as well as by its courthouse and its coöperative creamery. Three-fourths of any average audience at the moving-picture shows and open-air band concerts are country people.

The inhabitants are nearly all foreign-born or of foreign

[1] The survey of Lincoln was made by Miss Elizabeth Wootten and Miss Ruth Kentzler.

stock. During the war when a survey was made of the entire county, including the village of Lincoln, it was found that half the 18,000 people were of Scandinavian origin, one-fourth of German origin, and the remaining fourth of mixed descent. It is noticeable that many of the men and women speak only broken English. Thrift and hard work have created a town whose wide paved main street with its brick business blocks, and whose residential streets, well shaded by overbranching elms, bespeak solid prosperity and comfort rather than display.

The stores cater to the farmers by allowing credit; and the community is a pioneer in farmers' coöperative movements—grain, live stock and dairy products all being sold coöperatively. Farmers and merchants both hold stock in the coöperative associations. Farmers are also on the boards of the four banks of the town; in the case of the First National Bank, 75 per cent. of the directors are farmers. Of the three newspapers published in Lincoln, one, a county paper, is owned by farmers and edited and managed by a follower of the Farmer-Labor Party. The two other newspapers, privately owned, are nominally opposed to the Farmer-Labor Party; but local politics emphasize principles rather than party, and it was stated that not the best politician but the fittest man for the job is the one elected.

With one exception the town's publicly used buildings are municipally owned and include the Town Hall, which houses the fire apparatus and town offices; the "Opera House," which seats 600 and is the town meeting place on all public occasions; and the public library, which is in an attractive brick building erected in 1904 with the help of $10,000 secured from the Carnegie Fund. There is a public rest room for which the town pays the rent and also the salary of the matron. In 1885 the G.A.R. erected a memorial hall; and this is the only hall in Lincoln owned by any organization. Other property municipally owned includes a septic sewage disposal plant, now ten years old; an electric power and water plant, which supplies local electric power, sends current to three other points in the county, pumps the town water supply from deep wells, and furnishes heat not only to the town's public buildings, but also to most of the business houses. The current for the thirty-two five-globe white-way lights through the business district is supplied free of charge. In 1923 the plant made a profit of $20,000, and $10,000 the preceding year.

The town also owns six parks, all well kept; and is incorporated to include and completely control Lake Ripley, which is five miles in circumference and a mile from the center of the town.

The hospital, with twenty-two beds, an operating room, an X-ray apparatus, etc., is administered by an association, and charges made to patients are returned to the institution for new equipment and running expenses. The cemetery is governed by six stockholders who receive no dividends.

INDUSTRIES

Thirty years ago the First National Bank helped the farmers to establish the first coöperative creamery in the state; and in 1908 a second coöperative venture, the Stock Shipping Association, was founded with its aid. This bank, with seventy-five of its ninety-nine directors farmers, induced a local farmer to become the manager of the coöperative creamery and, later, of the Stock Shipping Association. No contract is signed by the 225 patrons of the coöperative creamery; but during June, 1924, 50,000 pounds of butter were accepted, and the creamery paid the farmers three cents more than the highest New York quotations. Three numbers identify every tub of butter shipped, and any fault found can be traced back to the source.

The following table shows how greatly production of butter increased in the community within the fifteen years between 1908 and 1923, the figure for the latter year representing an increase of 108 per cent. over the figure for 1908.

	Recd. by Coöp. Creamery		Quantity Butter Shipped	Amt. Paid to Farmers		Running Exs.
Year	Milk *lbs.*	Cream *lbs.*	*lbs.*	Cash $	Creamery Products $	$
1908	4,235,115	193,757	227,962	52,611	6,720	4,159
1923	34,903	1,590,115	475,179	184,592	16,724	14,509

The president of the Lincoln Creamery is also president of the subsequently formed State Creamery Association which markets all the butter produced by the former coöperative. The state association increased profits to farmers all over the state by $750,000 in 1924, and expected to do better in future.

When the Farmers Live Stock Shipping Association was organized in 1908 it was considered unique. On Tuesdays the farmers of the countryside bring their stock to Lincoln, whence it is shipped the same evening to South St. Paul, where it is unloaded by nine o'clock the next morning. Market price is paid for the stock, less a small fee for handling. During its first year the association shipped fourteen carloads, which realized $11,599. By 1923, the live-stock business of the community had multiplied twenty-five times; in that year the Association shipped 236 cars, receipts for which amounted to $294,276.

In 1916, at the instance of the town banks, the county organized a Farm Bureau for "better farming, better business, better living," and encouraged the farmers to do more scientific farming.

Three of the four grain elevators are coöperative. One closed down in November, 1924, as less grain is marketed now that dairy farming has increased; one pays only a small dividend, and the third, dealing in grain, feed, flour, salt and coal, is large enough to do business for the entire county. The privately owned elevator, belonging to a company that has many others along the railroad, handles between 60,000 and 70,000 bushels of grain a year with less overhead expense than the coöperatives.

Aside from the coöperatives, Lincoln derives direct support from the farmer through its woolen mill and its three produce companies, the largest of the latter handling a carload of poultry a week during the off season, and as much as a carload a day in the four months from September 30 to February 1. This poultry comes from as far away as South Dakota and is kept at the company yards and fattened, the greater portion being dressed and frozen before shipment. In addition, hides, furs, wool, cream and eggs are handled, the latter at the rate of two carloads a week, increasing to six carloads a week at the height of the season. Cash is paid for all produce received from the farmers.

The woolen mill occupies three brick buildings on the edge of the town where raw wool, in lots ranging from two or three pounds to 500 pounds, is received from farmers in twenty-five different states. Forty-five persons are employed throughout the year to operate the machines. This mill encourages farmers whose wool it buys to take manufactured woolen goods in payment; and makes it possible for them, especially for those who

market wool from only a small number of sheep, to get more out of the transaction in this way than by accepting cash. Blankets, shawls, woolen comforters, yarns and overcoat material are all manufactured here, the last named being sent away to be made up into garments which are then traded to the farmers.

Other village industries include a bake-shop, which not only does a local trade but sends bread, rolls and pastry every other day to six neighboring towns, the farthest of which is twenty-five miles away; a bottling works, established nearly fifty years ago, which employs three men during the summer to bottle pop, ginger ale and root beer at the rate of 250 cases a week, half of which are shipped to neighboring towns; and a cigar factory, which employs two girls and a man in the manufacture of 2,500 cigars a week.

AGRICULTURE

The Lincoln post office serves eight rural routes, which carry mail to 750 families living on farms ranging in size from seventy to a thousand acres.

Wheat was grown exclusively on this land thirty years ago, and, with thirty bushels to the acre, was highly profitable to the farmers. Gradually the soil became depleted and profits fell until in 1925 only a few acres of wheat could be seen in half a day's ride. This former one-crop area is now given over entirely to diversified farming, with dairy cattle and hogs, the latter raised as a by-product, on almost every farm. Ninety-seven per cent. of the farmers separate the milk at home, sell the cream, and feed the milk to the hogs. Every farmer aims to raise enough feed for his stock, for only then can he make money.

Owing partly to the coöperative creamery and partly to more efficient feeding and handling, the profit made on a cow in 1925 was from two to three times the profit of thirty years ago. The county pastures 47,000 head of cattle, in average herds of nineteen, a large percentage being of thoroughbred Guernsey and Holstein stock. In 1920 the total value of all farm land in the county was $51,000,000, a 250 per cent. increase since 1910, and a 450 per cent. increase in the last 20 years.

Twenty years ago corn was raised in ten-acre lots as against fields of from fifty to one hundred acres in 1925. Alfalfa made

its appearance in the community in 1920, when a town bank distributed 1,500 bushels of seed at cost. With three cuttings a year, possible in this latitude, alfalfa grows four tons to the acre, one ton being equal to one ton of bran as feed for dairy cows. As bran sold at $30 a ton, good alfalfa fields rated $120 an acre.

From one farm of 1,000 acres, valued at $50 an acre, from six to eight carloads of beef and pork were being shipped, producing a net income of $3,500 a year. Thirty dairy cows on an adjoining farm of 320 acres brought a net income of $2,300. Both farms were managed and operated with skill and economy and only modern agricultural machinery was used.

In the fall of 1923, at the wish of the majority of farmers, the Lincoln County Commissioners instituted the Area Test for T.B. among cattle, the first county in the state to undertake this severe test. It was not carried through without a fight. Farmers' meetings were called on three different occasions during the following eighteen months. At the third meeting, in July, 1925, the court room was crowded with some 250 perspiring farmers, their coats off, arguing with intense feeling for and against continuing the test until long after the scheduled hour of closing. Opponents were represented by an attorney, but those in favor spoke for themselves. Elimination of all cattle infected with tuberculosis meant butter would bring a higher price and hogs sell for ten cents a pound more; but infected cows when condemned were only partly paid for by the state. At this final meeting those in favor of completing the test won.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

Lincoln has thirty-one social organizations, of which fourteen were organized before 1900 and ten within the last three years. Membership in these societies totaled 2,465; and disbursements in 1924 were $9,175, a sum equal to one-third of the total town taxes. Of this sum, $3,700 were spent by three organizations: the golf club, the band and the American Legion.

The table on page 188 gives the number of members belonging to each organization, the percentage of the members living in the open country, and the average attendance at meetings, as well as the sums spent by the various societies during the year 1924.

Social Organizations	No. of Members M.	No. of Members F.	Average Attendance	Per Cent. Members from Country	Expenditure Past Year
Masons	213	0	20	50	$625
Chapter	130	0	25	25	400
Commandry	111	0	18	23	500
Eastern Star	0	150	35	25	250
Women's Club	0	55	33	0	300
Music Club	27	59	70	0	400
Parent-Teacher Assn.	62	63	110	10	175
A.O.U.W.	85	0	10	50	100
M.W.O.A.	145	0	15	50	125
Court of Honor	29	26	9	30	90
Royal Neighbors	17	51	10	17	100
Yeomen	22	11	15	25	55
Degree of Honor	0	20	17	60	35
Red Cross	15	10	6	25	10
Business Men's Assn.	60	0	58	0	0
Shrine	40	0	..	0	..
Odd Fellows	121	0	45	33	600
Rebekah	0	120	50	33	250
K. of C.	111	0	24	27	100
Band	26	0	25	0	1,200
Golf Club	45	0	..	0	1,325
Rifle Club	15	0	12	0	85
Post 35, G.A.R.	30	0	5	20	100
Woman's Relief	0	61	10	12½	60
Sons of Veterans	72	0	35	50	100
Woman's Auxiliary	0	33	20	50	500
American Legion	140	0	30	75	1,200
Am. Legion Auxiliary	0	61	40	10	500
Boy Scouts	32	0	30	0	..
Good Cheer Club	0	15	10	0	0
Agwam	0	25	20	..	0

During the winter of 1924, the American Legion gave two home-talent plays, which were socially and financially successful. It organized a drum corps of twelve drums and nine bugles, formed a troop of Boy Scouts, and bought a set of standards. Ex-soldiers who need railroad fare and other help are aided to the extent of $100 a year. The American Legion Auxiliary donates material and time rather than money, the latter amounting to but $500 in 1924. It sends baked things to the soldiers' hospitals in Minneapolis and makes layettes for the families of veterans.

The Good Cheer Club also gives more time and material than money, though it helps the City Council and the Women's Club to take care of the needy. Since Lincoln is an agricultural community, there are few dependent families and those needing help are cared for in their own homes.

In return for keeping the adjoining tourist campgrounds belonging to the town in good order, the Golf Club, organized in 1922, secured a nine-hole course near the lake. In 1924 the club had 45 members who pay yearly dues of $25 and a $25 initiation fee. Many business men who used to contribute to the professional baseball team have withdrawn that support and now play golf. The town baseball team carries on for love of the sport, and Sunday ball games are popular.

The Women's Club enlarged its study policy in 1924 to include civic improvement, and assisted the American Legion to buy and erect flags, which are displayed on occasion throughout the business section on posts set at the edges of the sidewalks. Through the club's traveling librarian, book service is extended to the local hospital; and under its auspices the town has the Minneapolis and St. Paul symphony orchestras occasionally. The club also sponsored a successful historical pageant, and the Women's Rest Room which the town supports. Under its management, other clubs aiding, the University of Minnesota Extension Lyceum gives courses in the village during the winter. This club takes an interest also in the Near East Relief.

About a hundred mothers and fathers attend the monthly meetings of the Parent-Teacher Association, and speakers are invited to talk to the members on child welfare and education.

The Business Men's Club is unusual in that there are no dues and no formalities. It meets at lunch from time to time to discuss village business affairs and each member pays his own bill.

EDUCATION

The village school system comprises two grade schools in different parts of the town, and one high school, which also has first and second grades in the same building. One of the two grade schools is in a four-room building; the other, which offers departmental work for the seventh and eighth grades, is in a new eight-room building and has a well-planted lawn in addition to playgrounds. The high school, though built of brick, is old in style and in poor condition. The superintendent put in a strong plea for a new school, and an unsuccessful attempt was made to bond the town for this much-needed building.

A large proportion of the children attending school were of

foreign stock; 50 per cent. of them being of Scandinavian descent and 20 per cent. of German descent, while 30 per cent. had one parent of American birth and the other foreign-born.

The average attendance for all three schools in 1924 was 88.6 per cent. of a total enrollment of 762. Average attendance at high school was 92.3 per cent., with a total of 262 on the roster. The excess of girls over boys in all schools was 88, the count in the high school being 158 girls to 124 boys. The number of rural girls attending high school was nearly double that of rural boys, there being sixty-six of the former enrolled to thirty-five of the latter.

In addition to the usual academic subjects, the high school gives one year of biology, one year of general science, two years of domestic science and two years of manual training. Elementary agriculture is stated to have been dropped from the curriculum because of lack of interest. The whole school has a music lesson every Friday morning, and a course in civics is given for half a year.

During the years 1916 to 1924 the cost of education increased more rapidly than the wealth of the town; for whereas bank deposits advanced 54 per cent., the school budget rose from $18,983 in 1916 to $49,804 in 1924, an advance of approximately 160 per cent. This figure, however, includes the contribution made by the remainder of the district as well as the state loan. The sixteen women who taught the grades received an average salary of $1,098 a year. The high school had fifteen teachers, four of them men, with an average salary list of $1,492 per annum, the superintendent being paid $3,200. Five had been in the school one year, six two years, and none more than five years. Two years previously, the school had engaged a nurse to care for the children's health.

Strong club life is a feature of the high school. It publishes a semi-monthly paper and also an annual. A number of entertainments are given every year, with plays in the lead. Interschool games are double-headers, as the girls have regular teams meeting girls' teams from opponent schools.

Scattered throughout the community are twelve rural schools, two built of brick, the rest frame buildings, all being in good condition. All rural schools have a Little Citizens League and health crusades. During 1920–22 a county nurse was employed and

the effects of her work were still apparent in 1924 in the healthy condition of the rural children attending school, and in the hot lunches served in all the schools during the winter. One rural school has a Parent-Teacher Association with 43 members, of which 23 are men. One of the projects of this association is the financing of a school hall on the county fair grounds, as all the rural schools have exhibits at the county fair and in 1925 planned to have one at the state fair.

The average enrollment in each school is 20 pupils, half of whom are boys. Attendance is 60.3 per cent. of enrollment, and 50 per cent. of rural school graduates go on to high school.

The average rural teacher in this community has had five years' training beyond the eighth grade, five years of experience, and receives $765 a year.

During the last five years a new examination schedule has been instituted. Instead of the old county method, the state holds two examinations, one in March and one in May. These are uniform and the examination papers, after being corrected in the respective schools, are sent to the state department of education for approval. This equalizes rural school credits throughout the state.

RELIGION

Sectarianism appears to be strongly rooted in the inhabitants of Lincoln, which, with a population of 2,850, supports twelve church organizations, representing four Swedish congregations, five English, one German, one Norwegian and one Roman Catholic parish. There are eight resident ministers and eleven church buildings.

The following table shows the size of each congregation, the number of men and women members of each church and Sunday school, and the proportion of members who dwell in the open country.

	Membership											
	Church							Sunday School				
Name of Church	Total	Town		Country		Under 21		Total	Under 21		Over 21	
		M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.		M.	F.	M.	F.
Roman Catholic	370	81	92	93	104	73	76	60	..	..	..	..
Swedish Lutheran	346	104	147	44	51	18	27	142	54	88	0	0
German Lutheran	201	26	52	63	60	16	21	45	21	24	0	0
Protestant Episcopal	176	80	90	3	3	6	10	65	26	39	0	0

Name of Church	Membership Church Total	Town M.	Town F.	Country M.	Country F.	Under 21 M.	Under 21 F.	Sunday School Total	Under 21 M.	Under 21 F.	Over 21 M.	Over 21 F.
Swedish Prot. Epis.	171	54	55	34	28	7	9	40	..	..	..	..
Presbyterian	165	49	89	13	15	14	14	117	48	47	6	16
Methodist Episcopal	144	38	79	14	13	15	23	121	58	63	0	0
Norwegian Lutheran	117	30	45	19	23	8	17	67	17	32	9	9
Christian	42	11	12	9	10	9	6	26	7	11	0	8
Swedish Mission	31	9	16	3	3	0	0	44	23	21	0	0
Swedish Meth. Epis.	12	5	4	1	2	0	0					
Seventh Day Adventists	11	5	3	2	1	2	0	20	..	..	..	..

The combined members total 1,786, of whom 769 are residents of the open country. The total gain for all congregations during 1924 was 128 and the loss 85, leaving a net gain of 43. Six of these churches have at least half of their services in a foreign language.

Seven of the churches have young peoples' societies with memberships ranging from 15 to 125. Five of these societies meet four times a month and the other two once a month.

As will be seen from the following table, the budgets of the twelve congregations total $30,097. Of this amount, $9,504 goes for benevolent purposes and an almost equal sum for ministers' salaries. The per capita giving differs, the range being from $4.88 to $181.81—the latter given by the Adventists. Ministers receive salaries of from $250 to $1,800. Seven receive $1,000 or over, and three are given home-mission aid. The Norwegian Lutheran Board supplies $1,000 of the Lutheran ministers' salaries and the Swedish Methodist Board gives $400 and $150 respectively to its circuits.

Name of Church	Resident Members	Total Budget	Per Capita Contribution	Ministers' Salaries	Benevolences
		$	$	$	$
Roman Catholic	370	3,600	9.73	1,000	350
Swedish Lutheran	346	7,568	21.87	1,200	3,854
German Lutheran	201	1,900	9.50	1,000	600
Protestant Episcopal	176	3,036	17.26	1,000	551
Swedish Prot. Episcopal	171	2,046	11.97	1,000	262
Presbyterian	166	4,137	26.67	1,800	1,400
Methodist Episcopal	144	3,331	23.13	1,800	831
Norwegian Lutheran	117	1,356	11.59	250	586
Christian	42	205	4.88	120	20
Swedish Mission	31	600	19.35	350	600
Swedish Meth. Epis.	12	318	26.50	250	0
Seventh Day Adventist	11	2,000	181.81	1,000	1,000

Union services were held for the first time during July and August, 1924. Five congregations took part: the Presbyterian, Methodist Episcopal, Trinity and Emmanuel Episcopal, and Christian. Each week one of the three resident pastors acted as chairman and another preached the sermon. The services were held in the opera house and the attendance—150 the first evening and 400 on the third—included country folk living as far as six and seven miles away. Arrangements for these meetings, as well as other interchurch matters, are cared for at the monthly ministerial meetings. All the ministers of the town belong, except the German Lutheran pastor and the Roman Catholic priest.

Another outcome of coöperation among the different churches is the week-day religious school organized in 1924. Children are dismissed from the public school for an hour and a half each week for instruction in their respective churches. The ministers and the congregations of the Presbyterian, the Methodist, the Swedish Lutheran, and the Norwegian Lutheran churches, and the minister and congregations of the Episcopal and the Swedish Episcopal churches take active parts in this work.

For years it has been the custom of the Ladies' Aids of the various churches to invite members of other Aids to their meetings. The invited guests accept to an unusual extent and the attendance for an Aid is frequently from 100 to 150; and among the women members of all the churches a very friendly feeling seems to exist.

St. Philip's Roman Catholic parish, organized in 1871, is the largest numerically and has the best physical equipment of any congregation in the village. In 1922 a beautiful, modern church building was erected at a cost of $75,000. This has in the basement a large, well-lighted room, with completely equipped kitchen, for social purposes. The room seats 200 at table and is the only place of the kind in the town. The active organization within the congregation is the Ladies' Aid, which raised $600 toward the support of the church within a year.

Aside from the Roman Catholic parish, which takes in both village and country, the most important of the village churches, judged numerically, is the Swedish Lutheran church. It has also the largest number of young members as well as the biggest Sunday school. This congregation was organized in 1873, and has supported a resident minister and has grown in membership

ever since. The church building was added to recently, giving the members a Luther Hall for their social life. A Ladies' Aid, a senior and a junior missionary society, a Luther League, and a brotherhood society are attached to the church.

The German Lutheran church ranks third in point of size. Of its 201 members, however, 123, or 61 per cent., are residents of the open country, as also are two-thirds of the members of the Sunday school. There is an active Ladies' Aid and a Luther League. Neither the minister nor his congregation takes part in any of the activities of the other churches.

The parish of Trinity Episcopal church was founded in 1871, and was fortunate in having $5,000 given to it for the erection of a church and a school. The school building, remodeled somewhat, is now used for the social life of the two Episcopal congregations of the town. In addition to the Sunday school, the church has a women's guild, a men's club, and a young people's society; as well as a women's auxiliary and a service league, which it and the Swedish Protestant Episcopal church maintain jointly.

Emmanuel, known as the Swedish Episcopal church, was organized later than Trinity and still holds half of its services in Swedish. For the last five years, however, both Trinity and Emmanuel have had one pastor; and probably it will be only a few years' time before the two churches are merged. In addition to the joint societies, Emmanuel has a Sunday school, a guild, a young people's society, and men's club. Thirty-six per cent. of the members of its congregation are open-country residents.

The rector of these two congregations, a native of the community, takes part in the Union Sunday evening services and in the religious day school.

In 1870 the railroad deeded two lots in the town to the Presbyterians for a church, funds for the building being raised through donations and subscriptions. The value of this property and its equipment is second only to the new Roman Catholic church property. An active Christian Endeavor Society, a missionary society, a Ladies' Aid and a Westminster Guild, the latter very small, form part of the life of the church. The Presbyterian minister is prominent in interchurch affairs, leads the Boy Scouts of the town, and serves not only his own church but two churches in near-by villages, receiving nothing for his services from one and $200 a year from the other.

The oldest church in the town is the Methodist Episcopal,

which was organized in 1860. It has an active Sunday school, a Ladies' Aid Society, a missionary society, an Epworth League, and a junior choir, the latter a new feature established to interest young people between the ages of nine and eighteen. A net gain of nine members was recorded in 1924.

In 1874 a Swedish Methodist congregation was organized which held meetings for a time in the English Methodist Church. Later a church house was built, and at one time a minister was in residence; but now that only a few members are left, services are held three times a month by a non-resident man.

About thirty-three years ago a Norwegian Lutheran congregation was established, which was active for several years. Gradually the membership dwindled; and the church building was sold to the German Lutheran congregation for the amount of the mortgage. The members one by one went into other churches until all but a few were absorbed. This little group, however, was restless; and through its efforts a minister was sent to the village three years ago to rally the old congregation and reorganize. The Mission Board paid his salary, $1,200, for two years. Now that the local people are stronger, the Board gives only $1,000 a year. Services are held in a little church building owned and used by the Adventists, and there is no parsonage. Extensive plans are being formulated for the erection of a new and altogether modern plant, which will include a gymnasium. The plan provides for an assistant to the minister to supervise recreation, and it is hoped the whole community will avail itself of the equipment. No funds, however, had been raised for the new building by 1924.

At the time of reorganization the congregation numbered thirty-six communicant members. By 1924 the church had 117 members, 42 of whom came from the open country. The net gain during the preceding fiscal year was thirty, fourteen being young people. The church supports a Sunday school, a Ladies' Aid with forty members, a men's club with twenty-eight members, and the Luther League with a membership of about forty. The minister has had seminary training, resides in Lincoln, and serves no other point.

The Christian church, one of the oldest in the town, has dwindled until now it has only forty-two members, nineteen of whom live in the country. Its regular minister left in 1922 and since

then it has had only occasional supplies. There is still a regular Sunday school and a small missionary society.

The Swedish Mission is an outgrowth of the congregation in the country, and is increasing as members of the country congregation move into town. For a time this little group worshiped in the Swedish Methodist building, but two years ago its members built a church of their own. The membership is thirty-one, none being under twenty-one years of age. It supports a Sunday school, a Ladies' Aid, and a young people's Bible class. The minister is resident and serves three other congregations.

Only a handful of people, eleven in all, constitute the congregation of the Adventist church; but last year their budget was $2,000. Of this amount, $1,000 went to the district for ministerial support and the other $1,000 to missionary work. This congregation has had no regular minister for some time, but conducts a Sunday school with an enrollment of twenty.

Within the Lincoln community there are only three active country churches: Bethany Swedish Mission, Ness Norwegian Lutheran, and Beckville Swedish Lutheran. The three congregations have in all 245 members; and these, together with the country members of village churches, constitute 65 per cent. of the total estimated open-country population of the community.

The total budgets raised by these three congregations in 1923 amounted to $3,678, of which $1,049 was given to benevolences and $1,520 for ministers' salaries. Most of this money, however, was raised by one congregation, that of the Swedish Lutheran church, the total budget of which was $2,958. The per capita giving was: Swedish Mission, $17.00, Norwegian Lutheran, $6.70, Swedish Lutheran, $16.80.

Of these three churches only the Swedish Lutheran supports a resident minister and is able to hold its members together and do active work. Its resident membership is 176; and its Sunday school, which has an enrollment of seventy, is open the year round. The sixty members of the Luther League assemble once a month, and often during the summer this meeting is an out-of-door affair which draws a general neighborhood attendance. It is not uncommon to have from 200 to 300 cars parked on a "social" evening. A Dorcas Society, composed of young women, meets once a month, and there is also a missionary society. This church celebrated its fiftieth anniversary in 1919.

VII

TUCKERTON

A Stronghold of Coöperation

Tuckerton,[1] a comparatively new community in California, owes its present prosperous condition to three dominant factors in its development—irrigation, coöperative marketing, and the raising of diversified fruits. It is located on the eastern slope of the San Joaquin Valley within twenty-five miles of the Sierra Nevada mountains.

HISTORY

Forty years ago the area where Tuckerton now stands was a range for the cattle of a few scattered homesteaders. In 1888 the Southern Pacific Railroad was built through this section and the company, on the assumption that some day the location would become the natural gateway to one of the region's valleys, purchased 160 acres of land for a town site.

There was no extensive sale of lots until 1894, when the land had been irrigated and the first orange grove had proved a success. Still greater interest was roused when the first grape vineyard began to yield rich harvests. In 1907 Tuckerton was incorporated as a city. Its total property valuation was then $388,000. Its rapid growth is shown by the fact that only nine years later the village valuation rose to $750,701. In 1924 this had increased to $1,568,307.

SOURCES OF WEALTH

Widely diversified fruit ranching in the valley, and the raising of cattle on the range lands close by, are Tuckerton's chief sources of income. The county in which it is located has climbed in the last sixteen years from nineteenth to nearly the

[1] The study of this village was made by Prof. J. H. Kolb, Miss Elizabeth Wootten and Miss Rachel Walp.

first place in the state in valuation of agricultural products. It boasts of 10,000 acres planted to well-known varieties of grapes and 4,000 more acres planted to orchards of oranges, grapefruit and lemons. Its deciduous fruit list includes apricots, figs, plums and peaches. There are fine olive orchards.

Between the years 1900 and 1920, the whole county showed remarkable increases in farm valuations. During that period the number of farms grew from 2,212 to over 6,000. The value of all farm property jumped from $20,287,801 to nearly two hundred million. Land values rose from $15,898,600 in 1900 to $64,455,554 in 1910 and to $167,123,963 in 1920. Machinery and farm implements increased in value from a little over a half million to over eight million and a half. The valuation of farm buildings increased nearly ten-fold.

In 1920 the average value per farm in the county was $13,228; and the total value of all crops amounted to $30,547,341, of which $19,416,780 represented the value of fruit and nuts alone. Land per acre was valued at $154.14.

The extent of production in the Tuckerton district may be seen in the 1923 report of the Chamber of Commerce. During that year, 3,521 carloads of produce were shipped out, and the net amount paid to producers amounted to $2,425,013. Oranges, grapefruit and grapes made up 2,229 carloads worth over a million dollars. The fact that Tuckerton has a crop for every month in the year is partly, if not largely, responsible for its stable population, its steady income, and its development of permanent institutions.

WATER SUPPLY

"Water is King in California"; and this is the key to the understanding of Tuckerton's economic as well as its social situation. The area is so close to the main sources of supply that driven wells are used. Each ranch usually has its own well and irrigation system. Bills before the legislature at the time of the survey, however, gave evidence that the water problems in the valley had not all been solved. With the present system and depth of wells, more water is used than is poured into the sources each year by the rains, the snow and the mountain streams. For an expanded irrigated acreage, new sources must ultimately be tapped.

POPULATION

In 1912 Tuckerton's population was 1,200; but by 1920 it was 1,852, and by 1925 it had increased to 2,200. Of all its people, only about a hundred were foreign-born, most of them Mexican laborers on the railroad. The Census shows that village males outnumbered the females by 180. The number of persons to a family averaged 3.7, the same figure found to be the average for the far-western area. A clear indication of the newness of the country is found in the proportion of native white persons born within the state, which for Tuckerton was in 1920 only 37.2 per cent., while the average for all the villages studied in the state was 42.4 per cent. In the Middle West the corresponding average was 71.2 per cent.; and in the Middle Atlantic area, 93.4 per cent. Tuckerton's youth is the more apparent in the proportion of native whites having mothers who were born in the state, only 8.3 per cent., as compared with the regional average of 9.0 per cent. and the middle-western and Middle Atlantic averages of 30.0 and 79.9 per cent. respectively.

The population in the area tributary to Tuckerton, including five neighborhoods in which there are about 435 persons, is 1,745, making a total community population of 3,945. In the country there were about 415 farms or ranches, only twelve of which were operated by tenants.

THE VILLAGE MAKE-UP

Tuckerton is divided into two parts by the railroad tracks. On the east side are the newer business houses, the better residences, the fine park, the Carnegie library and the high school. On the west side, with a few exceptions, live the laborers and the poorer class. Each side has its grammar school. The village does not suggest to the stranger that Tuckerton is different from many other western communities. The main street was paved and widened; but was without trees to soften the glare of the California sun, or to shade the rows of rather unattractive buildings on either side. The homes close to the business section are for the most part old wooden structures. If, however, one approaches the village—not by rail, but by the East or West Highway—the impression is different. From both roads one sees evi-

dence of Tuckerton's economic independence and its desire to use its prosperity in civic improvement.

There were attractive, well-built bungalows, a group of model American school buildings, beautiful trees, foliage and flower gardens. From the edge of the village, and stretching far along the tracks were the packing houses, plants and yards where Tuckerton's crops were handled; and flanking the community on every side stretched the fruit orchards, averaging twenty acres in size but ranging from five to 120 acres.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Coöperative marketing organizations played a major rôle in the economic life of Tuckerton. The greater part of its crop was handled by four non-stock-selling associations that had a total of 343 patrons in this district. The Sun Maid Raisin Association was first in importance. At the time of the survey, the chief concern of business men, Chamber of Commerce, Rotary, and those in charge of the coöperative, was to sign up 85 per cent. of the raisin growers for the handling of the 1925 crop. Back in 1919 the Association had fixed the price for raisins at ten cents a pound. Then followed the upheaval of the market and the failure to sell the crop to eastern buyers; and in 1923 the price went down to two and a half cents a pound. The Sun Maid prices were not reduced as fast as the prices on other products. It was said that the growers had pleaded for a slow return to normal and that the holdover had proved disastrous. The association claimed that the payment of ten cents to growers within the 1919 pool had been the direct cause of the payment of two and a half cents to growers within the 1923 pool.

The California Fruit Exchange was second in importance, and handled Tuckerton's deciduous fruit crop. Locally it had thirteen packing houses; and it was represented in the district by about 65 per cent. of the growers. This association handled the greater part of Tuckerton's million dollar crop in 1924. It had a local district manager who was assisted in his work by the Farm Bureau agent.

Tuckerton also had a branch of the Peach and Fig Growers' Association. At the time of the study, it was going through a period of reorganization and a campaign was on foot to secure

new contracts. The new organization was designed to overcome three alleged weaknesses in the old—a lack of contact and confidence between the central management and the grower, inadequate financial resources, and an inability to take advantage of state and national legislation.

In addition to the coöperatives, Tuckerton had numerous independents, such as the Mutual Orange Distributors, a part of the organization known as the Central California Citrus League. The Mutual was said to be a sort of clearing house for its members in matters of shipping consignments.

There were in all twenty-four packing houses in the Tuckerton community, thirteen of them associated with the California Fruit Exchange and eleven of them independent houses. A comparatively small number of growers were associated with each of these, a factor which tended to cut down the packing season and to increase the overhead expense. However, it preserved the individuality of the grower and his product through the trademarks and special packing systems.

One element in Tuckerton's diversified income was that derived from the live-stock industry. The fall live-stock market brought in funds just when the fruit grower needed loans for packing and marketing operations. Tuckerton had few of the problems of the one-crop community.

Though the boom of 1919 was checked for a time when the collapse came in the Middle West, the real deflation did not reach the Far West until 1922 and 1923; and Tuckerton, like other agricultural communities, was considerably affected by it. The local brick yards, just emerging from a complete paralysis at the time of the study, reflected the economic situation. The collapse was also closely associated in the minds of local people with the crisis in the Raisin Association and its quotations of two and one half cents a pound for raisins. Orchards selling for over $1,000 an acre three or four years before were listed at $400 to $500 an acre in 1924. The prices for fruit were quickly reflected in land values both up and down the scale. The extremes to which the boom carried the local people may be seen in a Chamber of Commerce statement—"a fourteen-acre vineyard over a six-year period returned to its owner a net profit of $87,200—$1,030 per acre per year and a 10 per cent. return on a valuation of $10,000."

During the years 1920 to 1925, between 40 and 50 per cent.

of the orchards changed hands. Most of the buyers were native Californians and the sellers moved into cities of southern California. In 1923 many orchards were for sale but prices had "gone to pieces," and there were virtually no sales.

Bank statements showed that in 1925 the recovery from the market collapse was taking place. The loans and discounts were considerably lower than the cash on hand. At the climax of the boom the loans amounted to over $650,000.

The banking situation had another element of interest different from that in communities of other areas. The Pacific Southwestern Bank, with headquarters at Los Angeles, had taken over one of the local banks. Its management was impersonal and its control far distant. Some of the local people were questioning this sort of large-city invasion.

SOCIAL AND BUSINESS ORGANIZATION

From the man's angle, Tuckerton presented an interesting organizational life. From the business standpoint, the Chamber of Commerce clearly dominated the situation and was a real force in the material progress of town and country alike. It had its own building, and its directors were recognized leaders. This organization was talking of a new depot; it published tonnage of agricultural products; took the responsibility of the Sun Maid referendum; and backed the peach and fig contract campaign. It was also the Chamber of Commerce that convinced the business men of the vital importance to them of making the coöperatives succeed, that called the growers and business men together to effect plans for the campaign, and that sent representatives with the expert advisor to visit the growers to persuade them to sign the coöperative contract. A partial explanation for this interest lies in the fact that three-fifths of the village merchants owned "ranches," as the Californian calls a farm.

The Farm Bureau was busy with legislative matters and with water problems. It complained of certain overlapping of its program with that of the Chamber of Commerce, yet it depended upon that organization to do its campaigning. The Kiwanis was a new organization which had rapidly become the livest in Tuckerton; yet in 1924, when it was organized, there had been considerable opposition to it on the part of some of the older leaders.

There was little integration in the social groups. There were eight agencies with at least some overlapping of activities; yet local cleavage prevented any complete reorganization. They included the Chamber of Commerce, the Farm Bureau, fraternal organizations, supply companies for coöperatives, coöperatives field service departments, and the men's club connected with the church.

There was overlapping also among the women's groups. The small card-and-thimble clubs were usually recruited from the larger fraternal groups and the same people usually belonged to several groups. The Women's Club started as a Shakespearean study club in 1903; but in 1925 it had no special program other than a social one, and the membership included the society women of the "East Side." Its main effort was the raising of funds for a new $10,000 clubhouse, which it hoped to make available for various community activities.

Among junior and young people's groups were two gym classes conducted by the physical education teachers of the high school. There were also Boy Scouts, Girl Reserves and Camp Fire groups, all comparatively new and stimulated by the county-wide organizations.

Recreation—organized and unorganized—was still a problem in the community, though the school had gone a long way in this field. There was talk of a community building under paid and trained supervision. But the class question entered into this plan —the question of how to handle the "west siders" and the transient laborers; for if these should gain possession of a community building, the "better class east siders" might not use it at all. But it was the "east siders" who had the money with which to support such a building.

Social expression in Tuckerton was divided among thirty-five organizations, five more than the average for the villages of the Far West. There were nine fraternal, six civic, two musical, four socio-religious, two patriotic, three economic, one educational, and eight purely social clubs. The total membership was 2,636, only a third less than the total town and country population. Twenty-nine of the thirty-five groups were for adults. Total expenditures for the thirty organizations reporting finances in 1924 amounted to $17,921.82, an average of $7.63 per person. The largest expenditures listed were those of the Kiwanis, which

spent $2,000, and the Chamber of Commerce, which spent $5,000 in health, in educational projects, in welfare work, and in general civic improvements.

CHURCH

Tuckerton's church life was at a low ebb at the time of the study. The struggle of the old to hold its own against the new, evident in every phase of the village life, was very clear in the church situation. Leadership was inadequate when compared with that of the educational, civic and economic groups; and the churches were not reorganized as among the vital forces of the community. They had failed to hold the interest of the majority of the people. Denominational feeling ran high among those who were members. Class distinctions divided the church as the railroad tracks divided the community. Any attempt to modernize the church program was criticised as an effort to draw interest away from church affairs. Of the 1,515 persons in Tuckerton ten years of age and over, only 28.1 per cent. were affiliated with the churches. Lack of interest was expressed in such remarks as: "Well, yes, he is a Presbyterian by marriage"; or "He is a Baptist by his children."

The churches had not held the interest of their own members; and they had neglected the "west siders" who, left to their own resources, had welcomed the coming of three new varieties of churches—Church of God, Holiness and the Pentecostal, all served in the preceding five years by untrained, evangelist preachers who happened to pass through Tuckerton.

Tuckerton had a church for every 275 persons, and only one had a membership of over 160, as is shown in the following list:

Denomination	*Resident Members*	
Presbyterian	92	
M. E. South	402	
Baptist	155	
Adventist	14	
Church of Christ	51	
Church of God	100	estimated
Holiness	100	estimated
Pentecostal	20	estimated
	934	

An effort was being made, however, to place the church in a better position in the eyes of the community; and, interestingly

enough, it was the heads of the business and educational agencies that had started the project. These men saw that Tuckerton needed a reawakening in its church life. Any program was difficult, for the equipment in nearly every case was inadequate. Union Sunday evening meetings were therefore introduced and backed by the business men and leading school people. The three stronger churches fell in line. The services were held in the school auditorium, and an outside speaker was invited to bring a message at each meeting. One of these was a business man; but he brought a message that was appealing to all groups, and 850 people turned out to hear it. There were men and women and children present, including the man who was a "Presbyterian by marriage" and the man who was "Baptist by his children," as well as the man who was a church-member in his own right. It was the hope that by these meetings, which were proving so successful, the foundation of a real community church might be laid.

An interesting factor in village church-membership was that more than half was made up of people who lived in the country. There was no isolation in this area. There were good roads, an all-year open season, and little interest was evident in support of country churches. There was just one active country church, also one community Sunday school. The church, however, had a resident pastor; and plans were under way for the building of an addition for the use of country people for socials and other community activities.

Three of the village churches had no regular membership records. For the five churches for which age-groups and sex-groups were available, 30.5 per cent. of the members were under twenty-one, 39.9 per cent. were between twenty-one and forty-four, and 29.6 per cent. were forty-five years of age and over. The number of females outnumbered the males by 16.8 per cent., despite the preponderance of males in the total population.

Four of the congregations supported resident pastors, two had non-resident pastors, and two were pastorless at the time of the study. The total budgets of seven congregations with financial records amounted to $17,380, of which 46 per cent. was spent for salaries alone. Only a little over a fifth of the total was spent for missions and benevolences. The per capita contribution per resident member ranged from $8.67 in the Holiness to $85 in the

Adventist church. For all seven churches, the average was $19.02 per member. The total valuation of all churches was approximately $47,300, over half of the total being included in two churches.

The average attendance at Sunday services ranged from twenty in the Adventist to 238 in the Methodist church. In five churches the average attendance was less than 100.

Each church supported a Sunday school, two of which were well organized and graded. Four Sunday schools had larger enrollments than the respective churches. Church life in Tuckerton showed signs of increasing efficiency; yet on the whole the churches had been left far behind when measured by the community's economic and educational progress. The union meetings had broken down barriers between church and community, but there was still need for a closer tie-up between the religious, social, civic and educational forces of the community.

SCHOOL

Tuckerton's school was given first place among community institutions; and the esteem in which it was held contrasted strikingly with the attitude toward the church.

In 1908 there was only a two-room school here where now stood a model up-to-date school plant. There were seven separate units, including manual training and domestic science departments, auto mechanics building, and general science laboratory. The auditorium seated nearly 1,000 persons. The seven buildings, which were to be eventually connected by arches, were equipped with every modern improvement. In the cooking laboratory there were electrical appliances, not only for cooking but for heating water and for ironing. The up-to-date curriculum included, besides the traditional studies, courses in weaving, millinery, rug making, dyeing and sewing. The manual-training course had won recognition from both state and national organizations. The program included the building and completion of one house in the community each year. The head of the department was a community leader, the leader of the HI Y, and an influential connecting link between the activities of village and school, as well as between those of town and country.

The Union high-school district included eight rural school dis-

tricts and enrolled 298 pupils, over half of whom lived in the country. The teaching staff included eighteen persons, all but two of whom lived in Tuckerton and were active in its social affairs. Salaries were high, ranging from $1,750 to $3,720, with the largest number between $1,850 and $2,000 a year. The teaching cost per pupil was $128.80 a year.

Tuckerton appeared to have a community-minded school board. It had attempted to meet the needs of its boys and girls, especially of those who were unable to continue their education in schools beyond high school. It had a finely developed system of publicity. Class reporters sent weekly news to the local paper, and mimeographed letters were sent to the parents periodically. Through membership in the various organizations, publicity was given to such groups as those of the Kiwanis and the Chamber of Commerce.

There was no lack of organized activity among high-school pupils. There were sixteen groups. Seventy-six boys and girls were enrolled in athletic teams and eighty-six in music and science clubs, besides the many who belonged to the Girls Reserves, the HI Y, and other character-building organizations.

The two grammar schools had a total of 629 pupils, of whom only 175 were from the country, and thirty-six were Mexican. Both buildings were comparatively new. The "west side" school had a serious attendance problem, as many of the pupils went with their parents to the orchards during the picking season. The cleavage in classes, churches and societies, between those living on different sides of the railroad tracks, was evident in school groups also. If the "west side" school held a social, only those of the "west side" group attended it. This school had no auditorium large enough for the holding of community affairs; nor did it have a kindergarten, though one was especially needed because of the large number of mothers who worked during the day either in east side houses or in the orchards or packing plants, and who were therefore unable to take care of their children of pre-school age. The Kiwanis and the Girls' Auxiliary of the Women's Club had, however, extended their interest across the tracks, and were supplying the "west side" school with milk for undernourished children each day.

The "east side" school was the more aristocratic. It had a good auditorium. A kiddie chorus was organized. There was a

kindergarten, and organized athletics were an outstanding feature of the program.

Salaries in the two schools averaged $1,395, and ranged from $1,215 to $1,800.

In the rural area of Tuckerton there were eight schools enrolling 329 pupils. All of the buildings were in good condition; five were equipped with electric light, and in them occasional movies were shown. The films were supplied by the University of California, and programs were arranged by the State Supervisor of Visual Education. The traveling movie outfit was owned by the County School Board, and had proved a great help in promoting coöperation between the Farm Bureau and the county schools.

There were eighteen teachers in the rural schools, all but two of them having had at least two years of normal-school training. Salaries ranged from $1,215 to $1,530 a year. The curriculum included courses in manual training for seventh and eighth grade boys—an extension of the work at Tuckerton. An auto with specially equipped chassis carried the tools and instructor to the rural schools each week.

HEALTH

Health activities in Tuckerton were directly tied up with the county Red Cross and the county tuberculosis association. At the county seat was located a fine health center. The building occupied a large city lot, and was an excellent brick structure surrounded by flower beds, shrubs and tall acacia trees. It was a memorial built by the Red Cross to perpetuate the spirit of service. For the first three years the county tuberculosis association financed the running of it; but later a county committee took over the responsibility and apportioned $300 a month for its upkeep. A resident nurse supervised the clinics held daily, while medical service was given by the county's physician without pay. Tuckerton had one doctor who served regularly and was a member of the board of trustees. It was this link that started the campaign for a full-time public health and nursing service. A few interested school officials and a local physician induced the town school board and the district school board to combine in providing money for a nurse. While the proposition was sold largely

on the idea that help was needed to improve the living conditions among the "west siders," the community as a whole accepted the service and was proud of "our" school nurse. Approximately a third of the grammar-school pupils were found to be under weight. They were not all children of the "west side," but represented the better class as well.

A summer camp in the mountains was conducted by the T. B. association. Through a fund raised by each community in the county, the underweights suspected of having tuberculosis, and all under-privileged children, were sent to camp for from two to four weeks. Tuckerton sent eighty-four children in 1924. Care was taken to prevent epidemics; and a nurse and a local physician saw to it that pupils were properly vaccinated and quarantined in case of contagious disease. Tuckerton had a sanitarium, privately owned, which accommodated twelve patients. One graduate nurse was employed; and local doctors took care of the work there. The community was interested in a better program of health work, and was standing behind the efforts made in that direction.

In brief Tuckerton was a new, rapidly developing community. In its economic, civic and educational activities it had gone far. In its social life, and in its church activities, it had far to go before either could be expected to serve the community as real forces. The old was gradually giving way to the new; leadership was not lacking, though class distinctions were clear cut; some of the barriers had been broken down; town and country were one; the community's income was assured, and increasing every year. Tuckerton represents the Far West as a community that in less than forty years has changed from a wild, isolated stock-raising and dry-farming region into a rich, diversified fruit section—a development that irrigation and coöperative marketing have made possible.

VIII

JEFFERSON

The Evolution of an American Village

Jefferson,[1] a village in one of the Colonial States, was founded in the last decade of the eighteenth century. At that time travel was difficult, and as Colonial development had followed the water routes, it was not uncommon for a county's older settlements on the coast to be separated from its river towns by wide areas of sparsely inhabited country. Consequently many bitter conflicts arose over the selection of county seats.

Jefferson owes its existence to one of those early squabbles, one that the legislature brought to an end by deciding that the seat of local government should be established at the exact center of the county. Commissioners appointed for the purpose in 1791, proceeded to purchase one hundred acres of "James Pettyjohn's old field," to erect a prison and courthouse, and to plot lots for the new seat. Thus Jefferson was brought into being sixteen miles from anywhere, on low, swampy ground, in a place possessed of few natural resources and isolated from the routes of communication and trade.[2]

Not much is known regarding what happened at Jefferson during the first half of the nineteenth century. The records for that period are few and incomplete, and little has been handed down by word of mouth. There were no separate census records for the community until 1860. Nevertheless a few facts about the very early days are known. At first the new county seat was without means of communication or of transportation; but the community and the county soon agreed to build three roads to

[1] The study of this village was made by the Director, assisted at various times by five members of the staff.

[2] Many of the villages studied, like Jefferson, sprang from causes that had no relation to the normal social development of the countryside. The convenience of widely scattered neighbors demanded a central meeting ground and a village rose by legislative fiat. Again, an enterprising promoter founded a town where he owned land; or a railroad established a water tower or a junction point, and around it developed a village.

connect it with the outside world. The next step was to establish a bank. This first bank was for many years the only one in the county. Each Tuesday it drew to Jefferson the prosperous farmers and the business men of the county; and with them much business for the tradespeople. It was the meeting place where matters of public interest were talked over after the business of the day had been transacted, the place where local public opinion was formed.

THE FIRST CHURCHES

Two religious groups developed; and the organizations they formed have persisted throughout the intervening century and a quarter. The first church established was the Episcopal, which was organized in 1794, largely by lawyers and county officials. This congregation built its church, and later rebuilt it, through the aid of lotteries authorized by the state legislature.

The second church, founded in 1802, was the Methodist Episcopal. Its members sought no aid from lotteries; nor had they much wealth. A generation passed before their church was finally completed "from vestibule to window-sashes"; and by that time it was too small for the congregation.

This church was connected with a large country circuit for almost a century; but the Episcopal church never established country connections.

A BIT OF PUBLICITY

When Jefferson was a decade and a half old, it had sufficient prestige to be mentioned by travelers, one of whom gave the following description of the community:

> A post town, and the seat of justice for the county. It is situated near the center of the county and contains about thirty houses, a church for Episcopalians, one for Methodists, a bank, a courthouse and jail, and is supposed to be the center of the county; but the center of population is much more easterly.
>
> It is surrounded by swamps, which will probably never be improved, and is by far the least desirable part of the county.

EDUCATION

This description mentions no school; but a history of education in the state records that "schools have been maintained at

Jefferson since the establishment of the town." They were under private control, there being no state school system. After a precarious existence for a decade, the school, in 1812, attained a degree of permanence by incorporation as an academy. In another fifteen years it virtually served as the high school for the county, giving Jefferson an additional asset.

COMMUNITY ISSUES

During these earliest years, the first of a series of social conflicts arose between the community's professional people, who insisted on non-rural standards for the village, and residents who desired to continue an open-country standard of living. It was a conflict typical of many that disturbed the peace of the village throughout its history. The subject of the argument was "pigs." The dispute waxed bitter; and several times received attention from the state legislature, which ordered fines imposed upon owners of unconfined pigs. Neither the swine nor their owners seem to have paid much attention to the edict of the state legislature; for, according to the record, the subject came up a number of times in those early years, until local pressure, reënforcing the law, finally banished swine from the streets.

WAR AND DEPRESSION

Minor controversies were soon forgotten in the tenseness of the struggle with Great Britain culminating in the War of 1812. Nationally it was a time of ever-deepening depression. The population of the county, which had increased nearly 50 per cent. in the first decade of the century, dropped in the 1810–12 period. Jefferson escaped this depression somewhat. The business of the county varied little, and the bank and school proved assets of importance in a community so small. Thus, though the rate of progress slackened for a decade, Jefferson continued to grow while the seaports and the river communities declined.

The war over, Jefferson spent the next twenty-five years in the task of assembling the social furniture of community life. A Masonic lodge was founded, as vigorous as any Rotary or Kiwanis of a hundred years later, which dispensed charity and settled a number of disputes among its members out of court.

Ambitious for a "temple," the lodge joined with the academy and the Episcopal church in successfully petitioning the legislature for permission to hold a $10,000 lottery for the benefit of the three institutions. In due time the Masonic Temple was added to Jefferson's group of public and semi-public buildings. A fire company, another lodge, and a newspaper were also soon started.

THE VILLAGE REACHES MATURITY

By 1850 Jefferson had become a well-organized community with a population of approximately 400. From then to the time of the Civil War, it grew steadily. Many retired farmers moved into the village, and there was an increase in the number of stores. In this period, the churches embarked on a building program in both town and country. The new "edifices" are described as "ornaments to the portion of the country wherein located."

Six churches, five of them in the country, and having all told about 1,000 members, made up the Jefferson circuit of the Methodist Episcopal church during the decade 1850–1860. Two ministers served the circuit; and the budget averaged well over $3,000 a year. Six months of each year were spent in protracted meetings; and this fact alone shows how large a rôle religion played in the social life of the people. Conversions were frequent and recurrent. Attendance at the revivals, from all accounts, was high. The Protestant Episcopal church also reached the peak of its development during this period.

The closing years of the decade saw the reorganization of the county Bible society, which event brought the community in touch with that great center of religious propaganda, New York City. It is recorded that after much discussion a committee on constitution "reported a paper nearly identical with the form of constitution recommended by the parent New York Society."

CHRISTMAS DAY

Christmas Day was merrily celebrated by a shooting match for turkeys at ten cents a shot, and the plentiful consumption of eggnog and apple toddy. In the evening, according to the Jefferson "Messenger," "there was a gay party in the bar room of

a hotel; the violin and the dance, together, made a merry company," all the merrier perhaps because of the "Maine" prohibition law, the result of which the "Messenger" claimed to sum up in the couplet:

> "Then those drank who never drank before
> And those who always drank then drank the more."

TRADE AND AGRICULTURE

Marked differences between Jefferson village and its countryside in the general habits of life were slow in developing. The work of the villager was much like that of the farmer, and the workday of the man who kept a store was as long as that of the man who tilled the soil. The commercial services of the village centered in the shoemaker, the blacksmith, the carpenter, the laborer. Every man was his own gardener, butcher and milkman. It was not until the decade of 1850–1860 that one store devoted itself exclusively to such lines as paint, wall paper and drugs. During this period too, the number of articles handled by the older stores gradually increased from five or six to several dozen.

The weekly Tuesday gatherings at the bank strengthened the feeling of identity of interest between village and country. But later the increase of service rendered by the village to the country created a distinction in function; and, slight as this distinction was, it seems to have sowed the seeds of later differences.

Jefferson took a real interest in agriculture. The town paper vigorously defended the productivity of the community's soil, and the efficiency of her farmers, from the "aspersions" cast by northern counties. One such article gives a clear-cut picture of agriculture prior to the Civil War.

> Mr. David Pepper, living within two miles of this town, has raised the present season, 4,000 bushels of corn. He owns 1,000 acres of land, much of which is not in cultivation, as a considerable part of it is swamp land. The worth of his entire land will average $30 per acre. In addition to these valuable lands, he has quite a large amount of stock, owning six mules, two horses, three yoke of oxen, and about twenty-five head of cattle; he owns also, ten Negroes, but few of whom are slaves. The pork that he will slaughter will amount to 6,000 pounds. This is farming on rather an extensive scale and will compare very

favorably, we think, with the much vaunted farming operations of our sister counties who enjoy themselves so immensely at our expense, when speaking of our poor farms. . . . Assured that his swamp lands are his best, he directs his attention especially to their cultivation, . . . he clears up twenty or ten acres every year. Some of these swamps produce fifty bushels of corn per acre the first year.

SHADOWS OF THE CIVIL WAR

Unfortunately for Jefferson, national difficulties began to disturb its leisurely and self-satisfied routine. The slave question would not down. Situated near the border line between North and South, the community found itself divided in opinion. Slaves were held, as the above description of a successful farm shows, though the number had decreased each decade since 1800. The "Messenger" was now giving more space to national issues and less to local affairs. Advertisements, too, reflected the gathering tenseness of the situation, as the following quotations show.

NOTICE

Was committed to the Public Jail of Morris County, as a runaway slave, Otho Nelson, who claims to be the slave of Thomas Bradley of South Carolina. Notice is hereby given that unless said slave is claimed within six weeks, he will be discharged from prison.

WILLIAM LOFLAND, Sh'ff.

$150 REWARD

Runaway from the subscriber in Berlin, Md., on the 25 inst., a negro boy by the name of Henry about 5 ft. high, of very dark complexion, near-sighted and very slim built. He had on when he left, long boots and a large gray coat. The above reward will be given if taken out of the state, after this date; and $150 if taken in the state and returned to me.

SAM'L MASSEY.

THE CIVIL WAR

With the war, Jefferson entered upon a new period; and the sources of our information about the community are much richer for 1860 and the years that have followed.

It was in 1860 that Jefferson was incorporated as a town. Its population then was 543, divided among one hundred households, all but fourteen of its white inhabitants having been born in the town or within the immediately adjoining counties. This fact may account for the reputed provincialism of the place. The legislature at once authorized the commissioners to put sundry sanitary and police regulations into effect, and to levy $250 in taxes.

In addition to the bank and the courthouse, the village now had three hotels for travelers. Agriculture, trade, public service, and personal and domestic service gave occupation to about half of those gainfully employed. Manufacturing and mechanical industries, under which head the Census lists tanners, blacksmiths, foundrymen, masons, carpenters, well-diggers, grave-diggers, seamstresses, etc., provided a living for the remainder of the people. Not one woman in ten of the white population was gainfully employed, while many of the males had retired from wage-earning.

The Civil War divided Jefferson into two camps. Opinion was sharply divided on the subjects of slavery and state's rights, as an item in the "Messenger," the village's weekly newspaper, defending a previous utterance, illustrates:

> We did not say, as has been represented, that any man ought to be hung. We stated we believed that for the good of the world, and the safety of the rising generations, it would be far better that every secessionist was hung, than this Government should be overthrown and its free institutions destroyed. We did not mean that any man ought to be hung, or that we desired any man should be hung—so far from this, we are free to say, that we are conscientiously opposed to the institution of hanging. But what we did intend to say is this: that it would, in our opinion, be a lesser evil for all secessionists to be hung, than to endure the calamities which they are bringing upon the country.

Disputation was rife in bank, store and public square. Only two families in town subscribed to regular daily newspapers; and copies of these papers, though forty-eight hours old upon arrival, were passed from hand to hand throughout the community so long as they lasted. The worst riot in the history of the town resulted from an attempt by a unionist to celebrate the battle of

Vicksburg. Purchasing all the candles in town, he stuck them on the palings surrounding the park in the center of the square for an illumination; whereupon a southern sympathizer swept off each lighted taper with his cane, and the riot began.

The census of 1870 records the changes brought during the decade. The proportion of males to females in the population decreased, and that of older people—over fifty years and particularly sixty years and up—materially increased. The number of persons to a family began a long decline, which has been interrupted but once since. One of the causes of these changes was the departure of some of the young men after the Civil War, which overturned the belief, commonly held until then, that to be born in Jefferson meant to live and die there. Some of these census comparisons between 1860 and 1870 follow:

Date	*Total Population*	*Males to Hundred Females*	*% N.W.* Males 50 Yrs. & Over*	*% N.W. Females 50 Yrs. & Over*	*% N.W. Women Employed*	*Persons per Household*	*% N.W. Born in State*
1860	553	88.1	11.7	10.8	9.6	5.5	93.9
1870	710	83.5	16.4	14.1	16.2	4.8	92.9
Per cent. increase or decrease ...	+28.4	−5.2	+40.1	+30.5	+68.7	−12.7	−1.6

* N.W. signifies native white in this and following Tables.

THE RAILROAD COMES

In the years following the Civil War two national developments left their mark upon Jefferson. The first of these was the inflation of the currency, which began during the War; the second was the coming of the railroad. The combination of cheap money and high prices for farm products led to wholesale investment in farms, amounting at times to speculation. Many persons in the county who sold their farms during this period retired to Jefferson. Hard times then brought a period of agricultural depression not unlike the depression that followed the Great War, though less severe. But for Jefferson, the edge of the hard times was turned in 1868 by the coming of the railroad.

Old residents to-day express disappointment over the failure of the railroad to do more for the town. Their community did not become a metropolis. Nevertheless, the railroad was Jefferson's salvation. It made possible the advent of manufacturing. Canneries and other industries based upon agriculture were estab-

lished; and the farmers used the town more and more as a shipping center.

INDUSTRIAL EXPANSION

A modest boom developed which lasted through a decade, reaching its heydey in 1889. Increased prosperity attracted new population. Women were breaking into gainful occupations; and many houses and stores were built to meet the needs of the increased population. Even agriculture expanded, and the day school enlarged. The proportion of men in the prime of life increased; and for the first time in the history of Jefferson the number of persons to a family showed a slight gain. The increase in the number of males was over 70 per cent. in this decade; while the whole population showed a gain of more than 50 per cent., reaching a total of 1,353. Some of the detailed census facts follow.

Date	*Total Population*	*Males to Hundred Females*	*% N.W. Males 50 Yrs. & Over*	*% N.W. Females 50 Yrs. & Over*	*% N.W. Women Gainfully Employed*	*Number Persons per Household*	*% N.W. Born in State*
1870	710	83.5	16.4	14.1	16.2	4.8	92.9
1880	895	84.5	17.4	14.7	17.6	4.1	88.3
Per cent. increase or decrease ..	+26.1	+1.2	+6.1	+4.3	+8.7	−14.6	−4.3
1890	1,353	90.6	13.3	14.3	12.5	4.3	92.9
Per cent. increase or decrease ..	51.2	+6.7	−23.6	−2.7	−28.6	+4.9	+5.2

Through this period Jefferson was dominated by a man named Street, not a native son, whose imagination was captured by the idea of the town attaining economic and political supremacy in the lower part of the state.

He began by acquiring control of the existing canneries, and started new ones to take care of the farm products. He discovered new uses for forest products, and founded a novelty factory to manufacture wooden plaques from gumwood. A small sawmill and lumber business was rapidly expanded by him to include such items as baskets for fruit growers, barrels, casks, even builders' timber scrolls.

He brought in new families to operate his various industries, and built houses for them. The older inhabitants even yet thrill in telling how he ran an excursion of homeseekers and prospective employees to Jefferson.

His undoing came as a result of his starting a large general merchandise store and paying three-fourths of each employee's wages in script redeemable only at that store. This action aroused the united opposition of the other shopkeepers in the town. Competitors of the most individualistic type, Jefferson's merchants had always gone their several ways. They now combined against him.

Political enemies rallied to the side of his business foes when he entered politics and led a minority following to victory. When the opportunity came, they brought about his downfall. The promoter, busy developing his enterprises, sought ever more credit to carry his business. The village bank was old and conservative. It refused him additional loans and called upon him to reduce his indebtedness.

THE COLLAPSE OF THE BOOM

This demand precipitated a crisis in the life of the energetic and ambitious little town. The people were divided into factions by the event; and to this day the period from 1880 to 1890 is talked of more than any other in Jefferson's history. Some still assert that the bank acted upon sound financial principles and saved the town from a crash far more disastrous than the one that did occur. Others still hold that the move was purely designed to ruin the man whose enterprise had done so much for the village.

Whatever the motive, his enemies triumphed. Street was financially ruined; and made no effort locally to rehabilitate his fortune. He moved away in 1889; and with him went a number of the families he had brought in.

The effect the failure had on the town is still a matter for argument. Some insist that it did not disturb Jefferson's economic progress at all. Others—among them men who came to the village shortly after the smash—disagree.

The census records show that after the crash the number of gainfully employed women decreased sharply, the ratio of males to females fell, the number of persons to a family dropped, and the proportion of older people rose. At the time of the last census, nearly one in every six of the white people was over sixty years of age, and nearly a fifth of the women were widows.

The population has remained almost stationary. Jefferson became, like many another village, an old people's home. The following figures tell the story:

Date	*Total Population*	*Males per Hundred Females*	*% N.W. Males 50 Yrs. & Over*	*% N.W. Females 50 Yrs. & Over*	*Number Persons per Household*
1900	1,658	94.1	18.7	18.8	4.0
1910	1,609	90.2	23.1	25.5	3.7
1920	1,710	88.5	26.0	28.8	3.3

SOCIAL TRENDS AND PROBLEMS

The years of Jefferson's economic progress proved to be years of spiritual negation. "It was a period of dry rot," said one leader who had lived through that time. Church-membership remained virtually stationary at about 300, despite the fact that the village population increased 50 per cent. between 1880 and 1890. In 1890 only a quarter of the population belonged to any church. From diaries it is learned that capable church officers were difficult to find. The established lodges received no new members and granted no new degrees. Committees active for more than half a century lapsed. Immorality and drunkenness were common among all classes of men; and on at least one occasion in the early eighties, the county court had to be adjourned without trying a single case because the lawyers were too drunk to appear on behalf of their clients.

The presence of the railroad created a new social element in the community; and the tracks themselves became the dividing line between the two social groups. On the south side are the old Colonial homes, as well as the more pretentious modern houses of the socially correct. New Jefferson lies to the north of the railroad track and shelters the railroad and factory employee and his family.

This division is found in many villages.[3] A railroad has been found harder to bridge than a chasm. It will separate old town from new town, white from black, native-born from foreign-born, north European from south European. Its right of way marks cleavages in lodge and church, explains conflict in community organizations, and the formation of new agencies.

[3] See Chapter II, *American Agricultural Villages.*

A NEW CHURCH

Since social life in villages is intimately connected with the church and with politics, the new class-consciousness was largely responsible for the founding of a Methodist Protestant church on the north side of the tracks. A description furnished by a charter member of the new church illustrates the attitude of the non-native element:

> The Methodist Episcopal Church was run by a clique, mostly lawyers. The working people could go to sermons, but otherwise they took little part and felt no responsibility toward the church. The Methodist Protestant is more democratic and friendly. We had our first meeting in a storehouse. Then we had a revival. Some people from the Methodist Episcopal Church joined, but mostly those who had not been members at all.

In less than two years the new church, aided by a liberal subsidy from the home-mission board, had more than a hundred members. Its aggressiveness stirred the Methodist Episcopal church to install a resident minister to uphold its prestige.

This is the kind of happening that explains how what is frequently called "overchurching" can come about. Religiously the situation in Jefferson was not good. Only a small proportion of people belonged to the church. Social and moral conditions in the community were confessedly poor. With the exception noted, however, no record could be found that the local religious leaders of that time were awake to the situation; nor were their ecclesiastical superiors. Instead of adapting their work to the new needs and opportunities, they continued to go their respective ways, the rank and file self-satisfied and lacking sufficient skill in social engineering to bridge a railroad track. To-day then, instead of there being a well-integrated social and religious life, class-consciousness and religious cleavages exist in Jefferson. The Methodist Protestant church is still regarded as "on the other side of the track"; and its membership contains the bulk of the railroad employees and many of the artisans. More than the other churches, it is interested in, and more sympathetic toward, the Ku Klux Klan.

The social differences that became institutionalized in the different churches were also responsible for the organization of sev-

eral new fraternal orders which met the desires of the newer element in the population for some measure of organized social life.

POLITICAL HISTORY

"Return Day," an institution peculiar to the county, gave evidence of the interest in politics in the early days. Its purpose was to make public the election returns usually reported in newspapers that reached Jefferson by stage coach from Philadelphia.

Two days after the November election, people gathered to hear the results announced; and Return Day became an occasion of festivity for the whole county. Out-of-town visitors arrived early in the morning, and even the night before, provisioned as for a siege, with fodder for the beasts tied under the axles. Mixed in with oxcarts and covered wagons, were the handsome carriages of the rich. Common interest drew all classes and made of the political occasion a time of common social gathering. In the evening, by torch or by moonlight, Negroes would fiddle while the white people danced the Virginia Reel and quadrille that needed no polished hard-wood floor. Occasionally a brawl of some sort would contribute to the excitement, as members of one party or another would rejoice too much over their defeated and crestfallen opponents.

After the Civil War, political division became sharper, feeling intensified, and the social element declined. The people of Jefferson were opposed to the enfranchisement of the Negro; and the Democrats held the reins of government for twenty years as the "white man's party." They refused to accept poll taxes from Negroes, thus depriving the Republicans of the benefit of the Negro vote. The Democrats appear to have abused their power. The loss to the county from taxes refused and remitted was estimated by a later county treasurer at about $10,000 a year. The county's credit was impaired, and its warrants sold at discounts ranging from 15 to 25 per cent.

Unable to gain power and patronage by fair means, the Republican leaders quietly and systematically made possible the payment of taxes by Negroes, thus enfranchising about 4,000 new voters in the county, and then out-bid the Democrats for votes.

"We had $50,000," said a Republican leader of that time, "the Democrats $26,000. I know they had that much because I paid $500 to get the information."

Typical of what happened is this story published by an old chronicler. The election to one office turned on the vote of a single citizen, "who sat all day metaphorically and literally 'on the fence' awaiting his reward. One manager offered him $10 and was met by an advance to $15 by a rival manager. Then a wag stepped forward and, posing as an auctioneer, systematized the bidding. The price went to $50, to which the opposing bidder offered a new saddle and bridle, thus winning the vote that elected his candidate."

The defeated Democrats charged that they had been "foully and unfairly beaten by the most unhallowed means ever used by any party." Republican leaders were ready to defend their actions, however, on grounds of high morality. They were convinced that the welfare of town and country demanded their success; and they could prove that the courthouse was a hotbed of corruption. As one of the leaders of those days said: "The use of money in a party convention or a primary—that is damnable. A party must pick its best men unhampered; but once picked it is only honest and right to back the party's candidate with every available cent."

LATER DECADES

Gradually, however, Jefferson climbed out of the slough into which the Civil War and the failure of the village boom had cast it. It reëstablished itself economically, politically and socially; and settled into a quiet existence as a reputable county seat to which farmers from the surrounding country retire in their old age.

Its canneries, seasonal in operation, still handle a large variety of fruit and vegetable products; but it is probable that no more will be erected. The lumber companies and the bakery are the only considerable employers of year-round labor; and the number of employees of the largest varies from twenty-five to forty, according to business conditions. To a peculiar degree, and for an exceptionally long time, the farmers of the neighborhood were self-supporting. They raised their own food, butchered their own animals, produced their own wool for homespun clothes and counterpanes. Not until 1910 did the last relic of the olden days disappear with the homespun counterpane. In that year Jefferson

became a full-fledged service station to the farmer. It has remained content with this status, forgetting the needs even of its educational institutions. In 1920 a wealthy citizen offered the village $225,000 for a new school if the town would bond itself for $25,000. The proposal was defeated, because it was feared that in addition to the bond interest and redemption there would be an increase in the school's upkeep cost. Jefferson's attitude was expressed in the comment: "When any community stoops so low that it accepts the largess of a private citizen, it has sold its soul and denied American democracy."

But despite the lack of attention to school needs, the census shows that the proportion of illiterates declined to less than 2 per cent. of the population during the last two census periods. Even among native whites, as the following figures show, one in every eleven persons above ten years was illiterate as recently as 1900.

	1860	*1870*	*1880*	*1890*	*1900*	*1910*	*1920*
Per cent. illiterates ten years of age and over in total population	18.0	16.0	18.2	15.1	15.0	5.4	3.3
Among native whites	7.1	3.7	9.2	8.8	8.8	3.5	1.8
Among Negroes	72.9	71.6	62.5	74.8	63.5	18.9	14.0

Civic progress is slow in Jefferson. When an ordinance was passed in 1895 requiring the laying of sidewalks, there was almost a riot and threats of shooting were made. The town council was voted out of office by an economy ticket. But after another year of muddy side-paths, with improved walks to compare them with, the town changed its mind again and voted the economy council out.

Other improvements followed slowly. In 1901 a new bank was organized. Individual wells gave place to water mains in 1903. The telephone crept into use, starting in 1896; and gas and electricity were installed in 1905. Good state roads were established; and Jefferson shared—unwillingly—in the honor and the high cost of progress. Even a Chautauqua was eventually secured, supported by the women's club.

Each step of progress represented a triumph of social engineering by some one leader or group over the conservatism and prejudices of the older portion of the community. A shrewd Jeffersonian, well acquainted with his fellow-townsmen, recalled

his method of selecting a committee that put through successfully a project placed in his hands by a town meeting.

> I knew that the selection of the nominating committee would mean the success or failure of the movement. I knew that there were certain warring factions in the town; the gas company and the electric light company, which were rivals; the Farmers Bank and the new National Bank. Then we had a wet and dry element, and we had the churches. The problem was to select a committee of five which would represent all these interests of the town. I lay awake at night trying to figure them out. At last I chose a Methodist dry man, cashier of the Farmers National Bank and interested in the Electric Company; an Episcopal wet man, a Democrat, president of the National Bank and president of the Gas Company. The last man I chose was a great Democrat, dry, Methodist, not associated with either bank, but giving his business to both, and not mixed up with the lighting business.

Not every effort was as skillfully handled; nor is Jefferson yet ready always to accept what others may commend. The newspapers record that three men who attempted to "deport" a state officer for attempting to compel vaccination, "were dismissed at their trial before the mayor because of lack of evidence." The school principal states that the community sympathized strongly with the accused men.

THE CHURCHES 1890–1920

As each of the two largest churches has been under the charge of a resident minister during the last generation, a more careful appraisal of the work of the church and its relation to the community is possible. In thirty years the proportion of church-members in the population more than doubled, standing in 1920 at 60 per cent. In other words, it increased eight times as fast as the population. The period of most rapid increase came immediately after the decade of the boom, which was also the period of social stagnation. The pace has slowed down with each succeeding decade; and since 1920 there has been a decided loss, amounting to about one-quarter of the membership.

Financially, the policy of the churches has been, like the community's, conservative. Per capita contributions were markedly smaller, even in the years of the drives, than similar contribu-

tions in near-by counties. Not until the present decade were gifts per member lifted above the ten-dollar mark under the consistent stewardship campaigns of the denominations. The proportion of benevolent offerings to total contributions, which averaged from 10 to 18 per cent. from 1890 to 1910, gradually rose until it ranged from 25 to 33 per cent. in the years after the Great War.

JEFFERSON TO-DAY

Jefferson is now a substantial, quiet, dignified town, proud of its history, of its people, of its prestige, of everything that is a part of it. It lives its life unhurriedly. Despite its few factories along the railroad, there is a detachment about the place that is restful. The taxi driver charges only fifteen cents to take the traveler from the station to the hotel or to any residence.

Life centers in the historic square, beautiful with tall trees and the greenest of grass. On it are located the banks, the ancient Farmers appropriately housed in an old, high-ceilinged stone residence, the exterior of which has remained unchanged through the years. Near the bank is the one surviving hotel; and across from it is the courthouse, a structure now nearly a hundred years old, large and roomy, with its Colonial pillars, its inevitable cannons, and its tower with the clock that tells Jefferson the time of day.

The streets are wide and, for the most part, tree-lined. Jefferson has allowed no urban urge to strip its highways of their shade. The houses represent the different periods through which the village has passed. Near the Square are some pure examples of Georgian architecture, plain, well balanced, possessing a singular dignity. The Civil War period is represented by dwellings that exhibit all the horrors of jig-saw decorations. Across the tracks, where Street did the first building, are some of the undistinctive, utilitarian houses of the later nineteenth century. Along the highways east and west are bungalows that stand for what is modern in the sedate old town; and their lawns and flowers give touches of color in striking contrast with the drab tone of the neighborhood about the Square.

Business in Jefferson is unobtrusive. Except for a block or two on the main street, stores and offices are in homes or little one-room buildings. The newspapers and a number of lawyers

are hidden, albeit strategically, in a row of tumble-down frame buildings behind the courthouse. One must even search for the Ford service station and garage. Local concerns carry almost no advertising in the papers, less in fact than those of 1860. The stores are social as well as commercial centers.

Jefferson has to-day 1,800 people, three and a half times as many as in 1860, the year of its incorporation; and it has 500 homes, five times as many as at that early date. Then Negroes constituted one-sixth of the population, now only one-eighth. The increase in the number of homes has been very steady; there having been an increase even in the first ten years of the present century when there was a decline in the population. The decrease in the number of persons to a home indicated by the census figures, is about the same for the native whites and for the Negroes. The heads of more than a fifth of all households in Jefferson are women; and homes of this class have increased in number twice as rapidly as those headed by males. Like many another village in America, especially in the northern Colonial area, Jefferson has become the refuge of the aged, particularly of women. For every eleven women there were nine men in Jefferson at the time of the survey; and a tenth of all the villagers were over sixty-five years of age, three times as many as in 1860. The widowed had almost doubled in proportion to population since 1890; and they, too, constituted over 10 per cent. of the population.

As an old-people's home, Jefferson is out of sympathy with youth. A considerable portion of the inhabitants must conserve what resources they have. They dwell in the past, and cannot see any necessity for change and improvement. This attitude affects the churches, and apparently has doomed two of them to eventual death. It also accounts for the lack of any adequate young-people's program.

A Census Analysis of the Village of Jefferson, 1860–1920

In the tables that follow are given many of the details of the special census tabulations for the village of Jefferson covering the last seven censuses. The student may study these tables from many points of view; and no effort has been made fully to analyze each table here.

TABLE 1—POPULATION, GROWTH AND DECLINE OF JEFFERSON FROM 1860 TO 1920

Item	Both Sexes		Males		Females	
	Total	*Native White*	*Total*	*Native White*	*Total*	*Native White*
Total population, 1920	1,710	1,475	803	689	907	786
Increase over 1910	101	83	40	26	61	57
Per cent. increase	6.3	6.0	5.2	3.9	7.2	7.8
Total population, 1910	1,609	1,392	763	663	846	729
Decrease from 1900	—49	—61	—41	—36	—8	—25
Per cent. decrease	—3.0	—4.2	—5.1	—5.2	—1.0	—3.3
Total population, 1900	1,658	1,453	804	699	854	754
Increase over 1890	305	250	161	127	144	123
Per cent. increase	22.5	20.8	25.0	22.2	20.3	19.5
Total population, 1890	1,353	1,203	643	572	710	631
Increase over 1880	458	476	233	236	225	240
Per cent. increase	51.2	65.5	56.8	70.2	46.4	61.4
Total population, 1880	895	727	410	336	485	391
Increase over 1870	185	164	87	74	98	90
Per cent. increase	26.1	29.1	26.9	28.2	25.3	29.9
Total population, 1870	710	563	323	262	387	301
Increase over 1860	157	102	64	42	93	60
Per cent. increase	28.4	22.1	24.7	19.1	31.6	24.9
Total population, 1860	553	461	259	220	294	241

Table 2 shows how negligible the foreign-born element has been in the population, although it appears to be increasing numerically at present.

TABLE 2—COLOR, NATIVITY AND PARENTAGE OF POPULATION IN JEFFERSON, 1860-1920

Year	Total Pop.	Total White %	Native-born White: Total %	Native-born White: Native Parentage %	Native-born White: Foreign Parentage %	Native-born White: Mixed Parentage %	Foreign-born White %	Colored %
1920	1,710	87.1	86.2	84.1	.9	1.2	.9	12.9
1910	1,609	86.8	86.5	85.4	.6	.5	.3	13.2
1900	1,658	88.3	87.6	86.5	.4	.7	.7	11.7
1890	1,353	89.6	88.9	88.3	.1	.5	.7	10.4
1880	895	82.7	81.3	80.1	.6	.6	1.4	17.3
1870	710	80.6	79.3	78.5	.8	..	1.3	19.4
1860	553	83.5	83.3	83.3	..	..	.2	16.5

Tables 3 and 4 show how largely the population of Jefferson is made up of native sons of the state. The slowly declining percentages of this element in the total population since 1890 are also an indication that other influences are coming in now that transportation facilities are so much improved.

TABLE 3 — NATIVE WHITE POPULATION OF JEFFERSON BORN IN STATE, 1860-1920

Year	Total Pop.	Born in State		
		Total %	Male %	Female %
1920	1,475	84.0	39.2	44.8
1910	1,392	85.7	40.4	45.3
1900	1,453	87.1	41.7	45.4
1890	1,203	92.9	44.4	48.5
1880	727	88.3	40.6	47.7
1870	563	92.9	42.5	50.4
1860	461	93.9	44.0	49.0

TABLE 4 — NATIVE WHITE POPULATION OF JEFFERSON HAVING MOTHER BORN IN STATE, 1860-1920

Year	Total Pop.	Having Mother Born in State		
		Total %	Male %	Female %
1920	1,475	79.7	37.4	42.3
1910	1,392	82.8	39.4	43.4
1900	1,453	81.6	39.3	42.3
1890	1,203	90.6	43.3	47.3
1880	727	87.9	39.6	48.3
1870	563	91.5	41.6	49.9
1860	461	91.5	42.7	48.8

Of those born outside the state, 90 per cent. or more came from adjoining states except in 1920. It was not until 1880 that the census discovered any one born in the Middle West living in Jefferson; and the number from this region has never been more than eight persons. The few foreign-born are largely from northwestern Europe.

Table 5 gives the details for a tendency noted in the text, namely, that of the females to exceed the males in the population. It will be noted that the distribution is more nearly "normal" in the census years that fell within the period of greatest industrial activity, 1890 and 1900.

TABLE 5—SEX OF POPULATION OF JEFFERSON, 1860-1920

Year	Total	Male	Female	Males to 100 Females
		Total		
1920	1,710	803 *	907	88.5
1910	1,609	763	846	90.2
1900	1,658	804 *	854	94.1
1890	1,353	643	710	90.6
1880	895	410	485	84.5
1870	710	323	387	83.5
1860	553	259	294	88.1
		Native White		
1920	1,475	689	786	87.7
1910	1,392	663	729	90.9
1900	1,453	699	754	92.7
1890	1,203	572	631	90.6
1880	727	336	391	85.9
1870	563	262	301	87.0
1860	461	220	241	91.3

* Includes one Chinese.

TABLE 6—AGE-DISTRIBUTION OF WHITE POPULATION OF JEFFERSON BY TEN-YEAR INTERVALS, 1860-1920

Year	Total	Under 10	10 to 20	20 to 30	30 to 40	40 to 50	50 to 60	60 to 70	70 and over	Unknown
						Males				
	No.	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1920	697	15.8	16.0	15.6	11.8	14.8	11.5	8.5	6.0	..
1910	666	16.2	18.8	15.2	14.1	12.6	10.5	9.4	3.2	..
1900	706	22.1	17.0	13.9	14.6	12.9	10.9	4.1	3.7	.8
1890	578	22.5	18.8	13.3	16.8	14.9	5.9	4.8	2.8	.2
1880	344	22.7	15.1	16.0	17.7	11.1	9.9	4.9	2.6	..
1870	267	20.6	19.1	20.6	12.4	10.9	9.7	5.6	1.1	..
1860	221	20.4	24.0	16.8	15.8	11.3	6.3	3.6	1.8	..
						Females				
1920	793	14.7	15.6	14.7	12.8	13.4	11.3	9.8	7.7	..
1910	731	13.4	18.3	15.3	14.8	12.6	11.1	10.3	4.1	.1
1900	758	19.8	17.5	16.6	13.9	12.5	10.8	4.4	3.6	.9
1890	634	19.1	21.1	17.2	16.3	11.8	6.9	5.2	2.2	.2
1880	396	21.2	16.9	21.5	14.4	10.3	7.6	5.8	2.3	..
1870	305	17.0	26.2	21.0	10.2	11.5	7.9	3.9	2.3	..
1860	241	27.0	23.6	17.0	10.4	11.2	6.2	2.9	1.7	..

Table 6 shows the steadily increasing proportion of older persons in the population.

Table 7 records the steadily increasing number of widowed, and helps to explain the very decided preponderance of females in the total population. The proportion of married males and females has changed little since 1880.

TABLE 7—MARITAL CONDITION OF WHITE POPULATION OF JEFFERSON 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, BY SEX, 1860-1920

Year	Total	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced	Unknown
			Males			
	No.	%	%	%	%	%
1920	537	27.4	64.6	8.0	..	..
1910	487	29.6	63.8	6.2	.4	..
1900	489	29.7	63.8	5.7	.6	.2
1890	389	30.9	66.3	1.5	..	1.3
1880	237	27.0	67.9	4.7	.4	..
1870	188	21.3	48.9	..	..	29.8
1860	147	24.5	46.3	..	..	29.2
			Females			
1920	612	24.7	56.7	17.8	.8	..
1910	559	26.7	55.8	17.3	.2	..
1900	542	24.9	58.7	15.9	.5	..
1890	448	28.1	57.6	13.6	.7	..
1880	276	27.1	58.0	14.5	..	.4
1870	213	21.1	43.7	..	..	35.2
1860	147	20.4	46.3	..	..	33.3

Table 8 shows by various age-groups the proportions of both sexes gainfully employed. Apparently there was less unemployment among the older men at the time of the last census than at any other period. This confirms the statement of the field workers that many retired farmers had been forced to augment their incomes by some form of employment because of the high cost of living.

TABLE 8—GAINFULLY EMPLOYED MALES AND FEMALES IN JEFFERSON IN EACH AGE-GROUP, 1860-1920

Year	*10* and over		*10* to *15*		*15* to *20*		*20* to *45*		*45* to *65*		*65* and over	
	Total	*No. Emp.*	*Total*	*No. Emp.*	*Total*	*No. Emp.*	*Total*	*No. Emp.*	*Total*	*No. Emp.*	*Total*	*No. Emp.*
						Males						
1920	673	535	63	0	73	29	274	266	191	186	72	54
1910	637	479	82	7	68	39	277	256	157	146	53	31
1900	621	463	70	3	67	34	282	260	142	131	60	35
1890	500	367	67	7	58	23	255	236	94	83	26	18
1880	314	262	33	4	30	17	166	160	67	64	18	17
1870	256	208	35	9	29	18	124	117	60	56	8	8
1860	201	141	33	1	26	12	97	88	36	33	9	7
						Females						
1920	769	149	77	1	68	11	331	89	187	38	106	10
1910	729	199	84	7	77	12	312	115	188	43	68	13
1900	686	107	76	1	75	11	314	50	152	26	69	19
1890	564	87	73	5	76	20	285	46	97	14	33	2
1880	384	109	49	7	44	21	185	53	80	22	26	6
1870	311	64	47	6	51	16	127	32	70	7	16	3
1860	211	36	38	2	32	5	100	23	40	5	11	1

Tables 9 and 10 show the types of employment which the males and females of both white and colored races enter. It is interesting that the census, which records the greatest proportion of males employed in public service, should have fallen within the period of greatest political corruption. The recent increase of the clerical classification will be noted. A short-lived garment factory which was operating at the time of the 1900 census accounts for the considerable proportion of both white and Negro women employed in manufacture at that time. The Negro woman finds little economic opportunity, except in personal service; but if other opportunities offer she will take advantage of them, as is shown by the sharp drop in personal service when the mill just mentioned was in operation.

TABLE 9—OCCUPATION OF GAINFULLY EMPLOYED WHITE POPULATION OF JEFFERSON 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, 1860-1920

Year	*Agricultural* *	*Extractive* †	*Manufacturing* ‡	*Transporting*	*Trading*	*Public* §	*Professional*	*Personal* ‖	*Clerical*
					Number				
					Males				
1920	40	1	116	134	89	14	38	12	27
1910	45	0	147	59	72	10	49	21	13
1900	21	0	176	60	69	14	46	20	9
1890	48	0	133	35	55	13	31	11	7
1880	19	0	90	13	38	14	36	9	3
1870	24	0	77	3	31	5	26	4	3
1860	11	0	50	4	18	5	26	5	4
					Females				
1920	0	0	22	4	7	0	20	21	19
1910	0	0	50	3	6	0	14	55	10
1900	2	0	19	0	14	0	12	29	2
1890	0	0	19	0	3	0	10	32	0
1880	0	0	22	0	1	0	4	28	0
1870	0	0	11	0	0	0	1	29	0
1860	0	0	12	0	0	0	1	4	0
					Per Cent ¶				
					Males				
1920	8.5	.2	24.6	28.5	18.9	3.0	8.1	2.5	5.7
1910	10.8	..	35.3	14.2	17.3	2.4	11.8	5.1	3.1
1900	5.1	..	42.4	14.4	16.6	3.4	11.1	4.8	2.2
1890	14.4	..	40.0	10.5	16.5	3.9	9.3	3.3	2.1
1880	8.6	..	40.5	5.9	17.1	6.3	16.2	4.0	1.4
1870	13.9	..	44.5	1.7	17.9	2.9	15.1	2.3	1.7
1860	8.9	..	40.6	3.3	14.6	4.1	21.1	4.1	3.3

* Agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry.
† Extraction of minerals.
‡ Manufacturing and mechanical industries.
§ Public service (not elsewhere classified).
‖ Domestic and personal service.
¶ Due to fewness of cases per cent. distribution of females is not shown.

TABLE 10—OCCUPATION OF GAINFULLY EMPLOYED NEGRO POPULATION OF JEFFERSON 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, 1860-1920

Year	Agricultural*	Manufacturing†	Transporting	Trading	Public ‡	Professional	Personal §
				Males			
1920	20	15	5	5	0	1	17
1910	13	35	4	0	0	1	10
1900	2	26	5	0	0	2	12
1890	0	27	2	0	0	2	3
1880	0	28	2	0	1	0	9
1870	1	31	0	0	1	0	2
1860	2	10	1	0	0	0	5
				Females			
1920	0	0	0	0	0	1	55
1910	1	2	0	0	0	0	58
1900	0	9	0	0	0	0	20
1890	0	1	0	0	0	0	22
1880	0	0	0	0	0	0	54
1870	0	0	0	0	0	0	23
1860	0	0	0	0	0	0	19

* Agriculture, forestry and animal husbandry.
† Manufacturing and mechanical industries.
‡ Public service (not elsewhere classified).
§ Domestic and personal service.

Table 11 compares the marital condition of employed females, and shows that in Jefferson the married woman, for the most part, does not work. Many widowed are able to support themselves without labor, though an appreciable number have sought gainful employment.

TABLE 11—MARITAL CONDITION OF GAINFULLY EMPLOYED FEMALES IN JEFFERSON 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, 1860-1920

Year	Total		Single		Married		Widowed		Divorced		Unknown	
	Total	Employed	Total	Employed	Total	Employed	Total	Employed	Total	Employed	Total	Employed
1920	692	148	180	79	385	34	120	30	7	5	0	0
1910	645	192	190	90	348	64	106	37	1	1	0	0
1900	610	106	162	55	348	14	96	35	3	2	1	0
1890	491	82	147	62	275	6	66	13	3	1	0	0
1880	335	102	101	55	183	31	50	15	0	0	1	1
1870	264	58	54	19	105	0	0	0	0	0	105	39
1860	183	34	33	6	76	0	0	0	0	0	74	28

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